Dateline 1971

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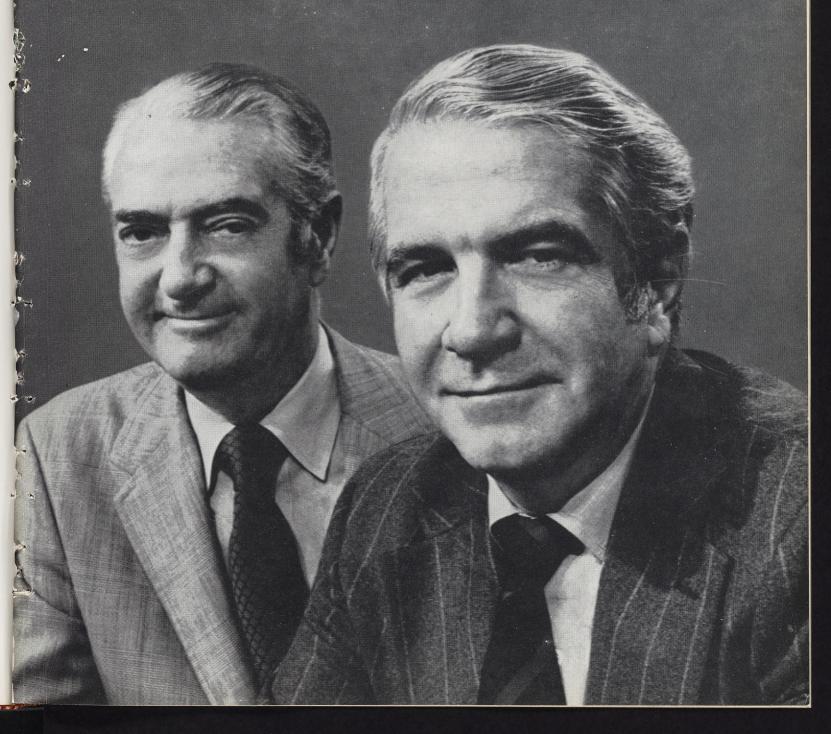
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Dateline 1971

A publication of the Overseas Press Club of America Volume 15, Number 1

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The President's Page

s OPC looks forward into the vistas of the Seventies, our primary concerns range far beyond the nittygritty of daily operations, the finances, the details of management, the balancing of budgets. All of these, of course, are vitally important; we have wrestled with such mundane basics for more than a year now, since the present club administration took office. A large number of our preliminary and essential goals for setting the house in order have been achieved. As we begin the second year of this administration, we believe we can state firmly that a whole new day is dawning for our club, an era of new directions, new purposes.

We look forward to a club of youth, of young reporters and photo-journalists and news editors from all the news media. By vote of our membership, we are able now to bring in, as voting active members, working stateside-press as well as overseas press. We look forward to widened horizons of action, to new roles of service our club will play in the field of journalism, both overseas and in the national-international interplay of coverage which is the hallmark of today's

worldwide reporting.

I am not in any way minimizing the purely fraternal aspects of our club. Our new club headquarters (for which as we go to press we are now drawing leases) will be an additional exciting phase of our role in the 1970s. Our activities, events and programs will also be

revitalized and expanded in these new quarters. The comraderie of our profession needs a proper setting in which to find a few hours of relaxation away from whirling deadlines.

But there are other matters at hand also, other issues and questions—questions, indeed, that probe deeply into who and what the press really is, and our obligations as journalists, whether we report for a daily or a weekly, whether we do articles or books or broad-

In the decade of the Seventies the club may well have to meet even greater challenges than we have seen and heard recently regarding who and what we are, and where and to whom our deepest responsibilities lie. The right of free journalists to get the facts and to speak and write and publish without fear is a fundamental of all freedom. But as we move ahead in the Seventies, there are many questions raised, many doubts, many new, sometimes deeply disturbing, suggestions.

The club's role in the future—must be to become the forum for the issues that have arisen and that will increase the challenge to the meaning of free journalism in America and throughout the world.

We have not and never will surrender the special overseas role which has been ours from the start. But we have added and will continue to add new dimensions in this exciting decade of the 1970s.

Will Oursler

Tribute

The war dead among the correspondents were remembered at the 1 1971 Annual Awards Dinner on April 23. President Oursler read the names of five correspondents, all of whom had won awards at previous OPC Award Dinners over the years and all of whom lost their lives in Vietnam while carrying out their assignments of covering the war. (As of May 1 the worldwide toll of accredited Indochina correspondents since 1965 was 31 dead and 23 missing.) The names of our five distinguished reporters, honored at the dinner by a moment of silence:

> LARRY BURROWS DICKEY CHAPELLE

HENRI HUET KYOICHI SAWADA

PAUL SCHUTZER

These award winners were cited not only for their own achievements and valor, but in honor of and gratitude toward all the correspondents who have died in war serving the standards of freedom and truth in our profession.

OPC Had Event-packed Year

by Mark J. Henehan

Newsmakers, authors, panel discussions on current issues, and a wide variety of musical programs provided stimulating entertainment fare at the Club during the past year.

A random sampling here of the wit, wisdom, and showmanship displayed by our guest celebrities may hopefully persuade more members to attend more events in the future.

• Liz Carpenter, former press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson, plugging her book, "Ruffles and Flourishes," a chronicle of her experiences on the White House staff, had this comment to make about women's lib, among a melange of other personal observations: "I'm too old to throw my bra into a bonfire, I enjoy being a girl. However, I heartily support equalization of pay and opportunity for women."

• In a speech at the Club when he left NBC's Huntley-Brinkley Show last summer, Chet Huntley quipped: "I want it clearly established that I am not running out in fear of Frank Shakespeare and Spiro Agnew!"

• Lt. Gen. Lucius Clay, speaking at Berlin Correspondents Reunion, observed that while "the U.S. was the best muddling nation that ever was," he held out hope for the future. "When we are most divided, we are at the point when we will come together again." Among the by-liners participating were: Jack Raymond, formerly of The New York Times; James Kilgallen, legendary Hearst reporter; Sigrid Schultz, who reported on Berlin for The Chicago Tribune; Percy Knouth, who served with Sigrid in Berlin; Ernest Leiser, formerly of Stars and Stripes, now with CBS; Kathleen McLaughlin, former UN correspondent for The New York Times; Timesman Farnsworth Fowle, and Mrs. Edward R. Murrow.

• Victor Riesel, one-time OPC president, back from a globe-trotting jaunt, reported at a reception in his honor that poor conditions for press freedom prevailed throughout the world, with the possible exceptions of Israel and Nationalist China. Another comment that mildly surprised many was that union members, hardhats, and workers of other types were "moving to the left now."

• Heated discussion marked the appearance of Dan Kurzman, whose book "Genesis 1948: The First Arab-Israeli War" evoked a heavy barrage of pros and cons from Book Night panelists Kenneth Love, author of "Suez: The Twice Fought War"; ubiquitous critic Cleveland Amory, and John Campbell, formerly on the State Department's Foreign Policy staff. Contention centered on whether the Arab position is being fully and soundly reported in the U.S.

• Sen. James Buckley, speaking at the Club a few days before his election, emphasized the need for the U.S. to carry out its commitments in Vietnam, the Mideast, and elsewhere. "Like it or not, I do not believe we can today withdraw from the world," the senator declared.
• William B. Lockhart, dean of

• William B. Lockhart, dean of the University of Minnesota Law School and chairman, President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, seemingly undisturbed by the sharp criticism leveled by President Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell at the Commission's recommendations for a more tolerant approach to erotica, he hoped both of the gentlemen, as well as Congress, would eventually find time to read the full 700-page report.

• Gen. Joseph Lawton Collins, who commanded U.S. ground forces in both Pacific and European theaters during World War II, and John Toland, the newsman who wrote best-selling books on each of those wartime battle areas, were guest speakers at the 26th annual Battle of the Bulge Correspondents Reunion. Sportcaster Lindsay Nelson, a Bulge veteran, acted as moderator.

• At the annual OPC Book Fair, guest speaker Herman Kahn, author of "The Emerging Japanese Superstate," told a large audience that "the center of the world may shift there."

Ossie Davis, popular actor and director, speaking at a Special Events dinner, defined bigotry as a "personal attitude of hatred, dislike, and disgust of one person for another." He defined prejudice as "an institutionalized way of causing one race or class automatically to come up on the short end of a stick."

• Promoting his newest book, "America and Russia in a Changing World," W. Averell Harriman, former New York governor and "eternal U. S. ambassador," told a Book Night dinner audience that he had two objectives: to work for the end of the Indochina war and to insure that President Nixon is a one-term President. "The arrogance of power which has hit some Americans must be checked. We can't impose our will on the peoples of Southeast Asia," the veteran statesman declared.

• Bob Considine introduced Herbert Klein, President Nixon's press

secretary, to a large Club luncheon audience as a "newspaper guy who's not intimidated by other newspaper guys." The description was most apt as the irrepressible White House communications chief contributed little in the way of hard news.

• Three young members of the underground press, Tom Forcade, Underground Press Syndicate, John Wilcock, "Other Scenes", and Jackie Friedrich, "East Village Other" put on a rather bemused luncheon audience. Most of the attendees had hoped that they would hear something that would be helpful in narrowing the generation gap, but many felt that the speakers offered little else but nihilistic diatribes.

• George Reedy, one-time press aide to President Johnson, describing his new book, "Twilight of the Presidency," postulated that Presidents have been becoming more isolated from their constituents because their intimates in the White House "try to make it easier for the Chief." When a President's popularity wanes, he finds it "far more satisfying to blame his failure on the press because his problems then can be attributed to a conspiracy."

• Back from a tour of Southeast Asia with William Randolph Hearst Jr., columnist Bob Considine displayed his usual keen wit and reportorial skill at a Club press conference: "The big problem is that we haven't put the Vietnam war in focus. I think it will be neither victory nor defeat. One day nobody will shoot and the other side will take the cue—maybe by the year 2000, only 30 years from now."

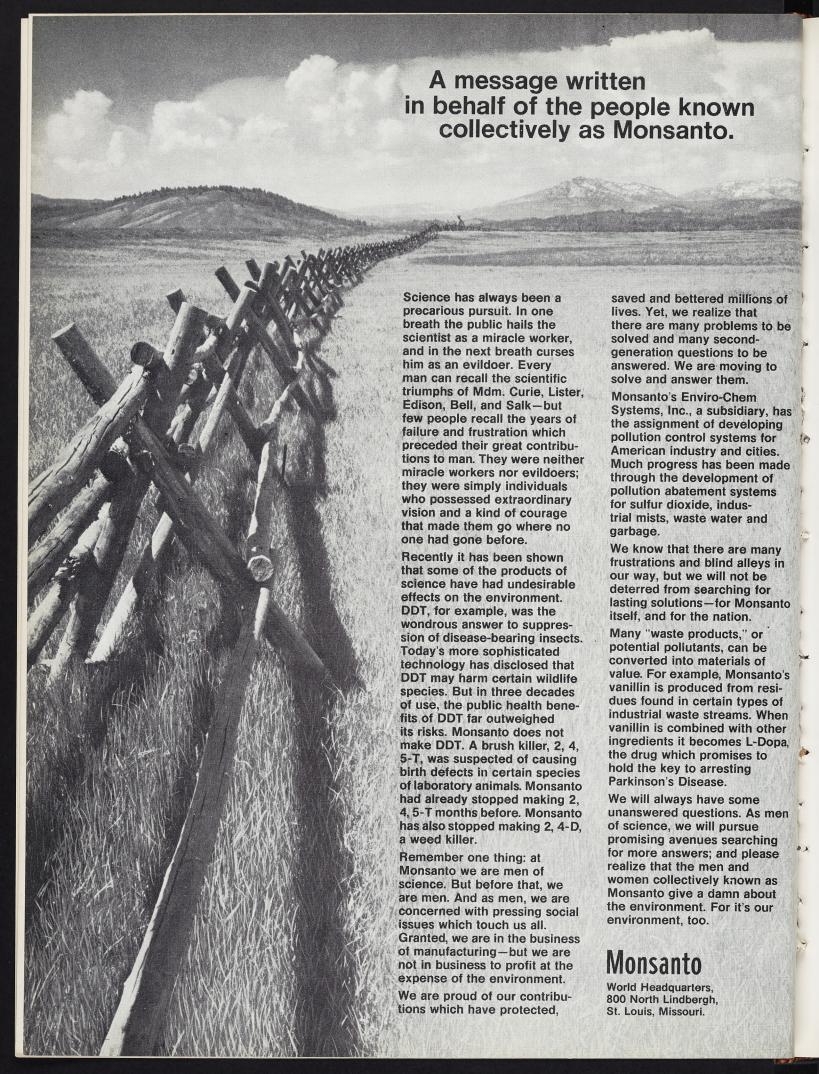
• Club music lovers were served a concert series that could be described as a "musicological adventure" by impresario Jack Frummer, chairman of the Music Committee, who had the fullest cooperation of John Gutman, vice chairman of the committee and assistant general manager of the Metropolitan Opera. Concert devotees were delighted by the high-caliber performances.

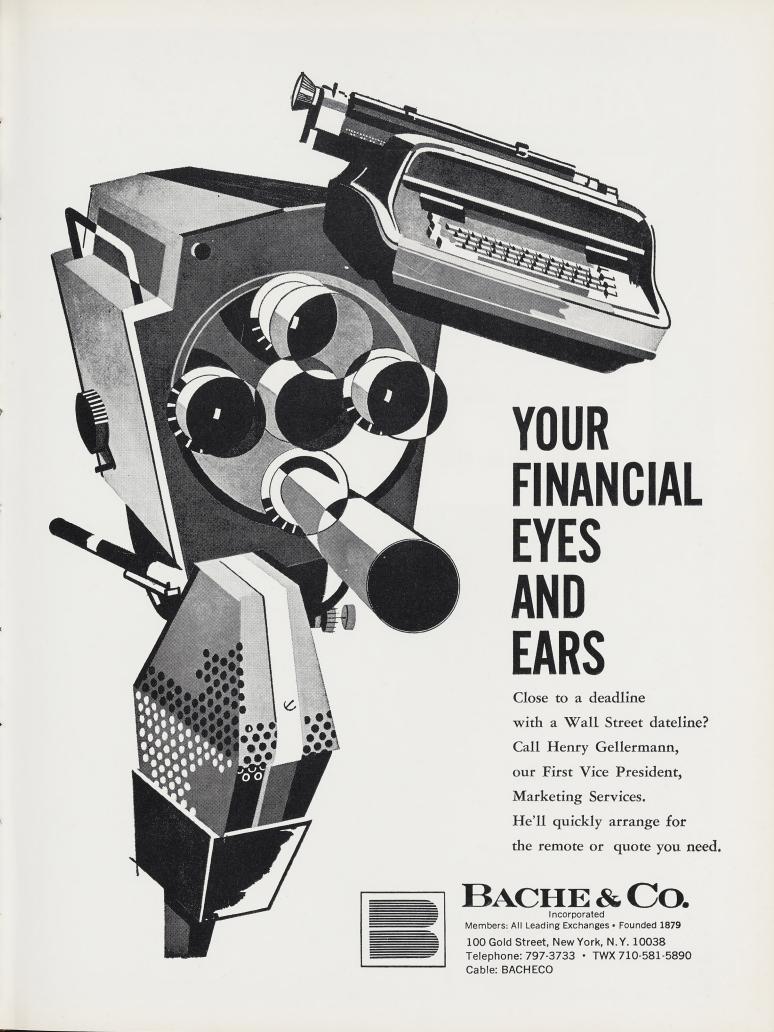
• Jazz buffs, and they are legion in the Club, cheered when the Overseas Jazz Club inaugurated a series of "bashes" last fall with a program by famed jazz pianist Earl "Fatha" Hines and "the voice" Maxine Sullivan. The two stars were made honorary chairmen of the OJC committee headed by Jack Heaney, ably assisted by Wilma Dobie, Robert Dunne, Sherwin Smith, Sol Zatt, George Dugan, Erik Modean, and Ruth Biemiller.

• Commodore Charles Schreiber of the Overseas Yacht Club reported a successful season, despite the fact that, at one outing last summer, the entire membership forgot their boats and became landlubbers for the day at The Larchmont Yacht Club.



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OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS 1970



JOHN HUGHES

Best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

From his base in Hong Kong as Far Eastern correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor, John Hughes spent five months visiting fifteen countries to research and write his series of ten articles, "The Junk Merchants: International Drug Traffic." The series, winner for 1970 of the OPC's award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad, exposed the movement of drugs into our communities.

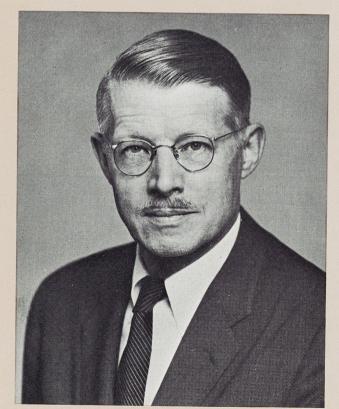
Born in Wales and educated in England, Hughes joined the Monitor in 1954 after eight years with newspapers and news agencies in London and South Africa. Before going to Hong Kong, he was the Monitor's African correspondent and then its assistant overseas news editor in Boston. In June 1970, Hughes was named managing editor of the Monitor, and four months later was appointed editor, the position he currently holds.

Hughes was awarded a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard in 1961 and received the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1967 for his coverage of Indonesia. He is the author of "The New Face of Africa" and "The Indonesian Upheaval."

Judges: Angelo Natale, Whitman Bassow, Edwin Tetlow



Hughes



Salisbury

CLASS 2 HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs

From its inception in September 1970, the Op-Ed Page of The New York Times has been a national focal point for first-rate analysis of world events. The editor of the page is Harrison E. Salisbury, one of the country's most widely known newsmen and a Times staffer since 1949. On the Op-Ed page he publishes the views of leading figures here and abroad, the musings of thoughtful citizens great and small. The Times says that probably no editorial enterprise it ever initiated "has stirred such vivid reaction, pro, con, and oblique."

Salisbury started as a reporter in his hometown of Minneapolis and joined United Press in 1930. He was UP foreign news editor from 1944 to 1948. In 1949 he joined the Times as Moscow correspondent and stayed in the Soviet capital until 1955, when he went to the Times in New York.

His reporting from Russia won him the Pulitzer Prize in 1955, the George Polk Memorial Award of Long Island University in 1957 and the Sigma Delta Chi Award in 1958. His stories from Vietnam and the Chinese periphery in 1966 and early 1967 won him another L.I.U. George Polk award and the Asia Award from the OPC.

Salisbury is the author of a novel, a book on juvenile delinquency, several books on the Soviet Union. His most recent books are "The 900 Days" and "War Between Russia and China."

Judges: John Luter, Alfred Balk, John Tebbel, Richard L. Tobin

CITATION: MARK ETHRIDGE, Jr., Detroit Free Press for coverage of Middle East hostilities

CITATION: CHARLOTTE SAIKOWSKI of The Christian Science Monitor for reports on "Russia in the '70s"



CLASS 3

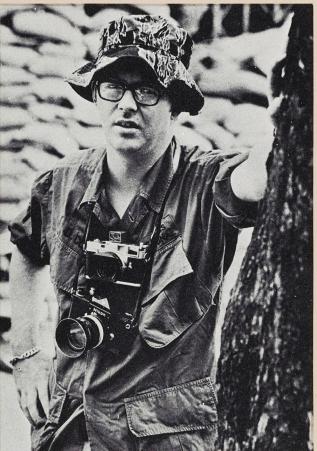
DENNIS COOK

Best daily newspaper or wire service photographic reporting from abroad

Cook's first overseas assignment came in 1969 when he was moved to Saigon by UPI. While he has been covering that news beat ever since, he has taken time out for other stories, such as the tidal wave that devastated large areas of Pakistan last year. It was for his unforgettable picture of a man who had lost his family in that disaster that Cook was selected this year's winner in Class 3. It is his first major award.

A native of Bismarck, N.D., Cook earned his journalism degree at the University of North Dakota in 1964, and went to work for the wire service almost immediately thereafter in his hometown. In time he was named bureau manager there, and, in 1966, was transferred to Des Moines, Iowa, bureau where he was eventually to become picture manager. In 1969 he moved to Lansing, Mich., to open UPI's first picture bureau there—and to meet his wife-to-be, UPI Lansing bureau staffer Barbara Cranham.

Judges: Charles E. Rotkin and Barrett Gallagher, John Durniak, John C. Morris, Arthur Rothstein



Cook and his winning picture



LARRY BURROWS

Best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad in magazine or book

Life magazine photographer Larry Burrows often said that his deepest wish was to live long enough "to be around to photograph both South and North Vietnam in peaceful times." On February 10, this dream was ended when he and three other photographers were killed in a helicopter crash. As usual, Burrows was at the scene of the action—this time in the antiaircraft-filled skies of Laos's Annamite Mountains.

Burrows joined Life in 1942 in the magazine's London office. After working in the darkroom he gradually began taking pictures, first on salary and then on contract. In 1962, he went on Life's masthead; that same year he began covering the war in Vietnam.

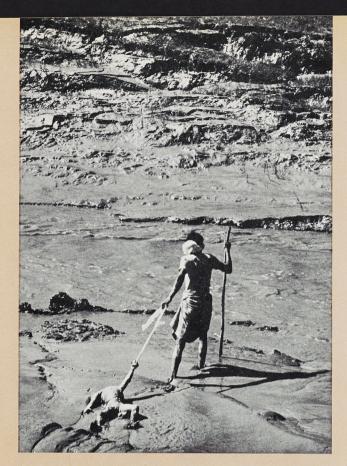
In 1966, Burrows was named Magazine Photographer of the Year by the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. In 1963 and 1965 he won the OPC's Robert Capa Award. His 1970 OPC award is for his coverage of the tragic aftermath of the Pakistan disaster. The photographs, which appeared in the December 4th issue of Life, were taken on Burrow's last assignment away from Vietnam.

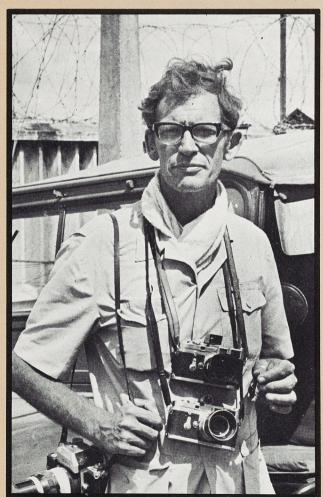
Though Burrows never wanted to be typed as a war photographer (he covered everything from a bartender's convention to albino kangaroos), he seemed to gravitate to military activity. Said his managing editor when news came of his death: "Larry Burrows was the single bravest and most dedicated war photographer I know of. We kept thinking up other, safe stories for him to do, but he would do them and go back to the [Vietnam] war. As he said, that war was his story and he wanted to see it through."

Judges: Charles E. Rotkin and Barrett Gallagher, John Durniak, John G. Morris, Arthur Rothstein

CITATION: JAMES H. KARALES of Look Magazine for his photo essay on "The Germany We Don't Know," Look, June 16, 1970







Burrows and pictures from his final non-Vietnam report



CLASS 5 LOU CIOFFI and CBS RADIO NEWS

Best radio reporting from abroad

For the first time in the history of this OPC award, dual prizes are given for this category. ABC News correspondent Lou Cioffi wins it for his reports from East Pakistan after the tidal wave devastation, and CBS Radio News is honored for its reporting from abroad.

Cioffi has been covering breaking news stories around the world for nineteen years. His first foreign assignment was covering the Korean war for CBS News in 1952, and he was awarded the Purple Heart for wounds he received at the front. After two years in Korea he returned to CBS in New York, and in 1956 was named the network's correspondent in Paris where he stayed five years. He joined ABC News in 1961, and as Paris bureau chief gave television's first live newscast from Europe to the United States via Telestar.

Cioffii took over the ABC bureau in Tokyo in 1965, returned to New York as national correspondent, and in February, 1970, signed for his second tour as Tokyo bureau chief. He was the first network news correspondent to file a filmed report of the Pakistan tidal wave disaster.

CBS Radio News wins this award for its broadcasts from overseas under the direction of Emerson Stone. Specifically, the award was based on examples as follows: a broadcast from Cambodia by Gerald Miller (who, along with CBS correspondent George Syverstsen, was killed there soon after his prize-winning report); a broadcast from the Cambodian border by John Laurence; two reports from Jordan by Ike Pappas; a broadcast from Cairo by Bill Plante; a report from the avalanche scene in France and one from East Pakistan by John Sheahan; a broadcast from Vietnam by Richard Threlkeld; a broadcast from Saigon and one from the Middle East by Don Webster.

Judges: Russell C. Tornabene, Thomas O'Brien, James Quigley, Richard Rosse, Mike Stein, Peter Wells



Laurence



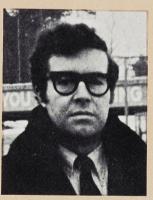
Miller



Pappas



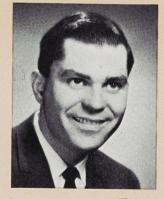
Plante



Sheahan



Threlkeld



Webster



Stone

Best radio interpretation of foreign affairs

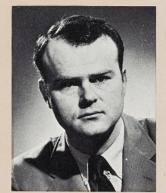
For its August 9, 1970, investigative on-scene report on the progress of Vietnamization, "Vietnam: The Way Out," NBC Radio News wins in this category. Peter Burns, former NBC Radio News correspondent in South Vietnam, wrote and produced the 55-minute program, which examined U.S. government efforts to put South Vietnam on its feet economically and militarily.

A team of NBC newsmen—Kenley Jones, Bob Green, Phil Bradley and Lou Davis—contributed special reports from the battlefield, the countryside and from Saigon, detailing special military, agricultural, engineering and medical projects inside the war-torn country. At the Pentagon, Robert Goralski gave the view from stateside.

Currently noon news anchorman at WJW-TV, Burns served in Southeast Asia for NBC Radio News in 1970. For two years previously he had been TV news anchorman and reporter at KNBC in Los Angeles and for five years before had been a reporter for CBS News in New York and Atlanta. Jones is also an individual winner in Class 7 for his Vietnam battlefront reports. Green is a reporter in the Hong Kong news bureau, who joined NBC in 1968 after reporting for Time-Life News Service. At one time he was a language adviser to the Vietnamese Armed Forces. Brady joined the Saigon news bureau in April 1970 with a background including general assignment reporting for WNBC-TV and two years as an adviser to a Vietnamese Marine battalion in Vietnam. Davis joined the Saigon bureau in February 1970 after serving as a reporter for NBC News in Chicago and New York, where he earlier served WNEW-TV. A newsman who has traveled to 35 countries and covered five wars, Goralski joined NBC News as Washington correspondent in 1961, covering the Pentagon and other assignments emanating in the capital.

The newsmen's conclusion: "Pushing an unhurried, almost recalcitrant culture into the space age is costing the American people untold billions of dollars . . . But Vietnamization is working; although its success is a matter of degree . . . And it will work, for two reasons. The American people insists on getting out of Vietnam. And you and I are paying enough money to buy our way out."

Judges: Russell C. Tornabene, Thomas O'Brien, James Quigley, Richard Rosse, Mike Stein, Peter Wells



Brady



Burns



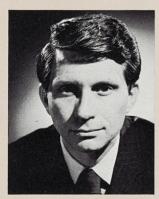
Davis



Goralski



Green



Jones

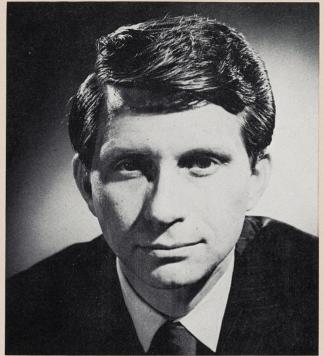
Best TV reporting from abroad

On his first assignment as an NBC News correspondent, Kenley Jones's Vietnam battlefront reports won him this year's OPC award for best TV reporting from abroad. Now, after a year's tour of duty in Vietnam, he is on a roving Asian assignment, using Singapore as a base.

Jones joined NBC in June, 1960, after working for four years for the NBC affiliate in Atlanta, Ga., WSB-TV. His reports on racial disorders and education in the South have been broadcast on "Today," "The Huntley-Brinkley Report" and "The Frank McGee Report." In 1968, he won the Georgia School Bell Award for his stories on education in Georgia.

The 36-year-old correspondent was born in Greenville, S.C., and served three years as a naval officer in the Pacific. He received his B.S. in 1957 and a master's in journalism in 1963, both from Northwestern. In 1964, Jones was one of eight newsmen selected for a CBS fellowship at Columbia University.

Judges: James Harper, Donald Coe, Howard Kany



Jones

CLASS 8 TED KOPPEL Best TV interpretation of foreign affairs

Officially, as ABC's Hong Kong bureau chief, Ted Koppel is the network's China-watcher. But the scope and complexity of the Indochina war sent him into the field much of the time to cover hostilities. In one recent month he logged more than 100,000 miles on assignment in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia and Australia.

Koppel spent 1967 in Vietnam as a correspondent in the ABC News Saigon bureau, and after a year as bureau chief in Miami he was named head of the Hong Kong bureau in January of 1969. That November he did the first U.S. television reports of elections in the Philippines via Pacific satellite transmisions.

Born in Lancashire, England, Koppel has a B.A. from Syracuse University and an M.S. from Stanford, both in journalism. He joined ABC News from radio station WMCA in New York, where he was a writer and newsman.

In 1965, Radio-TV Daily gave Koppel a "Best Radio Documentary" award for his program, "D-Day: Twenty Years After." This year he wins the OPC award for his July 1970 telecast series, "Vietnam: Topic A," which concerned America's decade of involvement in Indochina and the Vietnamization program.

Judges: James Harper, Donald Coe, Howard Kany



Koppel

Best magazine reporting from abroad

Robert Shaplen started reporting from the Far East during World War II, and he has been at it ever since.

After earning degrees at the University of Wisconsin and Columbia University, Shaplen worked for The New York Herald Tribune for six years and then, in 1943, shipped out to the Pacific as a war correspondent for Newsweek. In 1945 he was named Far East bureau chief.

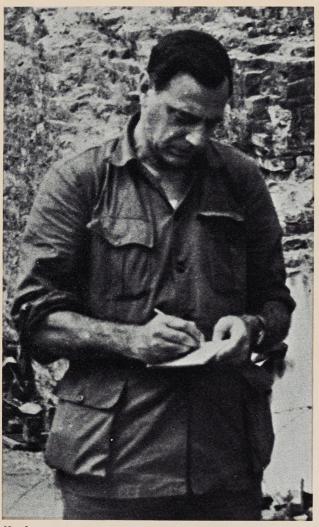
In 1952 Shaplen joined the staff of The New Yorker. He had been an occasional contributor to the magazine since 1943. In his eighteen years with the New Yorker, Shaplen has specialized in foreign reporting, and most of that from the Far East, particularly Vietnam.

Last year he wrote seven pieces for the magazine, reporting and analyzing the overall situation in the Far East, the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, the troop withdrawals, and the Paris Peace Talks. It is for this effort that he receives a 1970 OPC award.

Among the books to his credit: "The Last Revolution," which won the 1965 Class 11 award; "Time Out of Hand," which won 1969 citations in Classes 11 and 15, and "The Road from War: Vietnam 1965-1970."

Judges: Jean Baer, Paul Eberhart, John T. McAllister, Grace Naismith, Nate Polowetsky

CITATION: BROTHER TITO de ALENCAR and LEONARD GROSS for a special report, "Brazil—Government by Torture," in Look, July 14, 1970



Shaplen

CLASS 10 Best magazine interpretation of foreign affairs

ANTHONY LEWIS

Twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize, Anthony Lewis, currently The New York Times's London bureau chief and author of a twice-weekly column, is an old hand at interpretive reporting, of digging behind the notebook

facts and pulling together what he finds for a fresh look at a running story.

A native of New York, Lewis was graduated from Harvard in 1948 and promptly went to work for the Sunday department of the Times. Four years later he moved to The Washington Daily News, working as a general assignment reporter, and winning his first Pulitzer for a series of articles on the dismissal of a Navy Department employee as a security risk.

In 1955, he returned to the Times, and, until being posted to London in 1965, made the Supreme Court his specialty. He won his second Pultizer in 1963 for his coverage of the Court.

Lewis was a 1956-57 Nieman Fellow at Harvard, where he studied law, and has twice won the New York State Bar Association Press Award. He is the author of the "Gideon's Trumpet," about a landmark Supreme Court case. A movie, "Three Brave Men," was based on his Navy Department exposé.

This year's Class 10 award goes to him for his piece, "Biafra—How Pointless It All Seems Now," which appeared in The New York Times Magazine section in February of last year.

Judges: Jean Baer, Paul Eberhart, John T. McAllister, Grace Naismith, Nate Polowetsky

CITATION: DOM MORAES for "Bombay: Wealth, Shantytowns, Speakeasies, Intellectual Admen and Death on the Trains," The New York Times Magazine section, Oct. 11, 1970, and "An Indian Expatriate Rediscovers India," the Times Magazine section, Feb. 15, 1970



Lewis

CLASS 11 JOHN TOLAND Best book on foreign affairs

Hailed widely by reviewers with expressions such as "a noble book," "comprehensive and authentic," "compelling," and even "the best history yet to come out of the Pacific war," John Toland's "The Rising Sun" (Random House), subtitled "The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-1945," tells the story mainly from the Japanese viewpoint. He suggests that the Pacific war might have been avoided but for "language difficulties, and mistranslations as well as Japanese opportunism, irrationality, honor, pride, and fear, and American racial prejudice, distrust, ignorance of the Orient, rigidity, self-righteousness, honor, national pride, and fear."

Toland spent five years on this 1970 OPC award-winning book. With his wife and collaborator, Toshiko, he spent fifteen months traveling through the Far East interviewing everyone from top officials to peasants. Of Samurai descent, Toshiko through family contacts was able to open doors normally closed to Westerners. The couple interviewed more than 500 people, including normally reticent Japanese wartime leaders and Hiroshima victims as well as Americans ranging from former President Truman to onetime POW's. (continued)



Toland

US AIR FURCE

Withdrawal



Darcy

A stateside soldier during World War II, kept by his small size from becoming a Marine combat correspondent or Air Corps flight trainee, Toland postwar was a novelist and science fiction free-lance until his 1955 book on dirigibles, "Ships in the Sky," for which he interviewed 50 people who had actually ridden in them, brought him to the attention of Army historians. This resulted in a commission to write "Battle: The Story of the Bulge." Other military-oriented books followed: "But Not in Shame" (a 1961 winner in this category) and "The Last 100 Days." His next book: a biography of Hitler.

Judges: Anita Diamant Berke, John Barkham, Hallie Burnett, Lawrence G. Blochman, Paul Eriksson, Gerold Frank, Fred Kerner, Will Oursler

CITATION: C. L. SULZBERGER for "The Last of the Giants," published by Macmillan.

He was a Class 1 winner in 1941 and 1951

CLASS 12

TOM DARCY

Best cartoon on foreign affairs

While writers and reporters enjoy the privilege of being able to express themselves by words, the editorial cartoonist must tell his story with a single drawing within the confines of a box.

Newsday's Tom Darcy, who has been that daily's editorial cartoonist since 1968 (a post he also held from 1957 to 1959), does just that, and with such clarity and incisive interpretation that last year he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize as well as an OPC citation for excellence for his work.

This year, his OPC award is for his cartoon "Withdrawal," which appeared in Newsday.

Darcy studied art at the Terry Arts Institute of Florida and at the School of Visual Arts in New York from 1953 to 1956. A Navy veteran, he joined Newsday in 1956 and the next year became its editorial cartoonist. In 1959 he moved to The Phoenix Gazette, again, as editorial cartoonist.

The next year he entered the world of advertising—he was art director for the New York-based Lenhart & Altschuler Agency—but, in 1965, he returned to newspapers, this time at The Houston Post where he won the editorial cartooning category of the International Salon of Cartoons. He moved to The Philadelphia Bulletin in 1966, and returned to Newsday in 1968. His work is distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post Syndicate and appears in 70 newspapers.

Judges: Robert Clurman, Tom Griffiths, James Wechsler

Best article or report on Latin America in any medium

A native of Ogden, Utah, David Belnap has spent most of his journalistic career with UPI. He was the news agency's regional executive in the Pacific Northwest and bureau manager in Honolulu, Helena, Spokane, and Olympia.

For twelve years Belnap's UPI beat was Latin America as a reporter, editor, and news executive. As director of UPI's Latin America services, he covered and supervised coverage of the major international conferences in Latin America as well as changes of government in eight Latin countries.

Four years ago Belnap joined The Los Angeles Times as the newspaper's Buenos Aires bureau chief. From this vantage point he has covered stories throughout South America, including the campaign and election of Marxist president Allende in Chile last year.

His OPC award is for a series of articles about the political changes in Chile, appearing in the Times last

Judges: Frank E. McCarthy, William H. Gorishek, Juan Lefcovich, Jorge Manchego

CITATION: PENNY LERNOUX of the Copley News



Belnap

Service, for a series of reports on the Peruvian earthquake. Last year she was also awarded a citation for selected articles on South America

Extremists Wou

Chilean Congress Gives Allende Le Army Chie

idency by Wide Margin

eclares

BELNAP

DEMOCRATIC IMA TENDS TO OBSCI CHILE'S INEQUI

Exclusive to The Times from SANTIAGO, Chileassassination army comman senneider and the

darvist governi

Presidency by Wide Margin BY DAVID F. BELNAP Times Staff Writer

SANTIAGO, Chile - Congress overwhelmingly proclaimed Socialist Salvador Allende as Chite's next president Saturday amid rigid security measures taken to prevent disturbances aimed at upsetting the constitutional process.

Allende, 62, will formally take office for a six-year term at inauguration ceremonies Nov. 2, replacing Christian Democratic President

Eduardo Frei. Air force helicopters circled and this Andean capital cles as Co

said the emergency measures were taken to prevent anyone from fleeing the country who might have sination attempt against Mat. Gen. Rone Schneider, 57, commander in chief of the army.
"The attackers have been Chilo."

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Cowan



Farnsworth



Jones



Oka



Maidenberg

CLASS 14 THE NEW YORK TIMES Bache Award for best business news reporting from abroad in any medium

In presenting the award to the Times for outstanding coverage of economic developments overseas during 1970, the judges noted: "Dispatches by such reporters as Clyde Farnsworth from Paris, Hy Maidenberg from Caracas, Brendan Jones from Ethiopia, Edward Cowan from Toronto and Takashi Oka from Tokyo, show a unique breadth of coverage of major economic trends in many parts of the world, reported and written with unusual depth and perception." About the individuals cited:

Clyde Farnsworth joined the Financial Business staff of the Times in 1962 after stints on the financial beat for both The Herald Tribune and UPI. The following year he moved to the foreign staff, first as an economic correspondent in the London bureau, and later as Brussels correspondent. He is presently stationed in Paris. He was a 1968 award winner in this class.

Hy Maidenberg, the Times's economic correspondent in Latin America, has spent his entire working career with the paper, joining the news syndicate department as a copyboy in 1947, eventually becoming a copy editor. In 1959, he moved to the financial news staff as a copy editor and switched to reporting in 1962, specializing in the bond and commodities markets. Currently based in Caracas, Maidenberg travels throughout Latin America covering economic developments—and, he notes, even an occasional earthquake.

Irish-born and educated Brendon Jones began his newspaper career in 1932 as New York correspondent of The Irish Press at the age of 17. He was to work for the old INS, The Washington Times-Herald and The New York Mirror before joining the Times as a business news reporter in 1947. A foreign-trade specialist, Jones makes an annual, three month trip to Africa gathering material for the paper's annual African Economic Section.

Edward Cowan, with both his B.A. and M.A. in economics, came to the Times in 1962 after five years with UPI. Following two years on the financial news staff in New York, he became a foreign correspondent, stationed first in Brussels, later in London. In 1967, Cowan became the Times man in Toronto. But while based in that city, he travels extensively throughout Canada covering assignments as well as economic news.

The Times Tokyo bureau chief, Takashi Oka, joined the paper in 1968. Though born in Japan, Oka is a U.S. citizen. He was educated in both countries, earning his M.A. from Harvard in 1954. Prior to coming to the Times he had served as The Christian Science Monitor's senior correspondent in Moscow.

Judges: Henry Gellerman, George Bookman, Harry Jiler

(0)

Best article or report on Asia in any medium

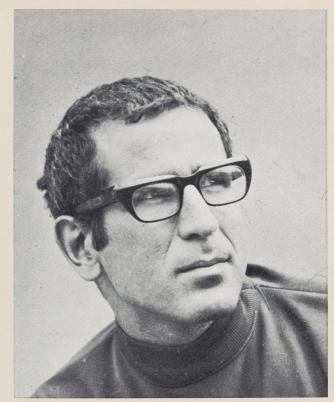
Harvey Meyerson was born in Chicago and raised in Honolulu. A graduate of Northwestern University's School of Journalism, Meyerson studied at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris and, as a Ford Foundation Fellow in International Reporting, at Columbia University. Currently, he is a doctoral candidate in history of American civilization at Brandeis University. He has worked as a reporter for the Honolulu Advertiser, The Chicago Sun Times, and the Chicago Daily News. In 1967 he left his job as a Paris correspondent for the Daily News to freelance in Vietnam.

This 1970 OPC award in Class 15 is for Meyerson's book, "Vinh Long" (Houghton Mifflin), a personal account of his years living in the Delta villages of South Vietnam. The book tells of the failure of a two-and-a-half-year campaign to clear the Viet Cong from the banks of the Mangthit Canal, which needed to be reopened for moving rice to Saigon. Said a critic in The New York Times: "'Vinh Long' is a valuable contribution to our understanding of what is taking place in Vietnam."

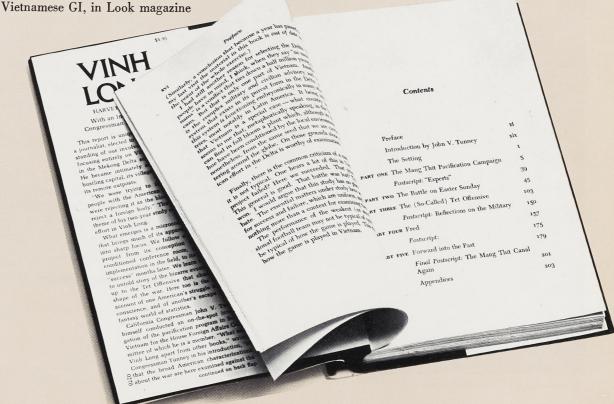
Judges: Margaret Parton, Walter Rundle, Don Dixon

CITATION: LOUIS WIZNITZER of
The Christian Science Monitor
for a series of articles on Vietnam

CITATION: CHRISTOPHER WREN, writer, a 1969 winner in this category and THOMAS R. KOENIGES, photographer, for an article on the



Meyerson



Robert Capa Award for superlative photography requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad

"If you are there, you get good pictures."

Kyoichi Sawada

The United Press International's Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer Kyoichi Sawada had been there—in Vietnam and later Cambodia—since 1965 when, at his own request, he gave up his post as the wire service's Tokyo newspictures editor to become a combat cameraman.

And it was there, on a lonely road in Cambodia, on Oct. 28, 1970, that he and UPI's Phnom Penh bureau manager, Frank Frosch, were killed in a North Vietnamese ambush. Dressed in civilian clothes, they were riding alone in a rented civilian car. Sawada had covered more than 50 battles and campaigns, accompanying both U.S. and South Vietnamese troops, at the time of his death.

The 1970 Robert Capa Award is conferred, posthumously, to Sawada for spot news and feature photos taken during a six-month assignment in Cambodia during that year.

Born in northern Japan, Sawada had bought his first camera for \$1.65 when he was thirteen. By the time he was twenty he had his own photo concession at a U.S. airbase in Japan. He joined UPI in 1960.

Among the major awards Sawada had won for his Vietnam work were the 1966 Pulitzer Prize for news photography for his most memorable "Flee to Safety," the 1966 and 1967 OPC awards for the best wire service photographic reporting from abroad, and the grand prize in the World Press Photo Contest at The Hague, in 1965 and again in 1966. He also won an OPC 1968 Class 3 citation for his series on the battle at Huie.

Sawada died in the same area of Cambodia where, several months earlier, he had been captured by enemy soldiers, only to be released when he told his astonished captors he would rather die than spend the rest of the war in captivity.

In a tribute to both Sawada and Frosch, the Associated Press's John Wheeler wrote from Cambodia: "They died doing their job. But if either or both were still alive, they would be in their car tomorrow, ready to drive down yet another road looking for the story."

Judges: Charles E. Rotkin and Barrett Gallagher, John Durniak, John G. Morris, Arthur Rothstein





Sawada and his Cambodia picture

The Overseas Press Club George Polk Memorial Award for the best reporting in any medium requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad

"It takes time to be accepted by the 'grunts' and even longer to win their confidence. There was no other alternative but to live with them." Live with them they did. CBS correspondent John Laurence, cameraman Keith Kay and soundman James Clevenger in March 1970 joined the foot soldiers of Company C along the Cambodian border. For three months they shared with them the oppressive heat (at times so intense their film fused and was ruined), meager rations (two hot meals a week) and, of course, the everpresent danger of meeting the enemy (the CBS team carried no weapons).

In the end, Laurence, Kay, Clevenger with producer Russ Bensley and executive producer Ernest Leiser created a vivid portrait of the day-to-day life of U.S. combat soldiers in Vietnam. Titled "The World of Charlie Company," the documentary appeared as a CBS News Special last July.

Explaining its decision to award the 1970 George Polk Memorial Award to "The World of Charlie Company," the judges said the documentary "gave those countrymen of ours who dare face reality extra insight into the bitter conflict that continues to rage in Indochina."

John Laurence, educated at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and the University of Pennsylvania, joined CBS News in 1965. Most of his time since then has been spent in Vietnam. In 1968 he and Keith Kay were awarded Emmys by the National Academy of Arts and Sciences for coverage of the Vietnam war.

Ernest Leiser has been with CBS since 1953 and has been a writer, correspondent, producer, news director and executive producer. His unit, which specializes in reports prepared on an emergency basis (the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy) also has produced such long-term projects as the award-winning, three-part "The Cities."

Robert Bensley started at CBS in 1960 as a writer and subsequently became a producer, Chicago bureau manager and, in 1964, co-producer of the CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite.

Judges: Lowell Thomas and Sigrid Schultz, Will Oursler, Jack Raymond



Bensley



Clevenger



Kay



Leiser



Laurence

Overseas Press Club Award Winners for 1968 and 1969

BEST REPORTING FROM ABROAD

Daily newspaper or wire service 1968—Peter Rehak, AP 1969—William K. Tuohy, Los Angeles Times

Radio

1968—Bernard Redmont, Group W, Westinghouse 1969—Steve Bell, ABC

Television

1968—Liz Trotta, NBC 1969—Don Baker, ABC

Photographs daily newspaper or wire service 1968—Eddie Adams, AP 1969—Horst Faas, AP

Photographs—in a magazine or book 1968—David Robison and (posthumously) Priya Ramrahka, in Life; and Romano Cagnoni, in Life 1969—Marc Riboud, in Look

Magazine

1968—J. Robert Moskin, Look 1969—Christopher Wren, Look

BEST INTERPRETATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Daily newspaper or wire service 1968—Robert S. Elegant, Los Angeles Times; and Stanley Karnow, Washington Post 1969—Max Frankel, New York Times

Radio

1968—Elie Abel, NBC 1969—Alexander Kendrick, CBS

Television

1968—Charles Collingwood, CBS 1969—Elie Abel, Dean Brelis, Wilson Hall, George Murray, NBC team

Magazine

1968—James C. Thomson, Jr.,
Atlantic Monthly
1969—Norman Cousins in
Saturday Review and Look;
and Carl Rowan,
in Reader's Digest

Book

1968—George W. Ball
"The Discipline of Power"
(Atlantic Monthly Press)

1969—Townsend Hoopes
"The Limits of Intervention"
(David McKay)

ENDOWED CATEGORIES

E. W. Fairchild Award—(\$500) for best business news reporting from abroad

1968—Clyde Farnsworth, New York Times

1969—Philip W. Whitcomb, Christian Science Monitor

Best article or report on Asia 1968—Bernard Kalb, CBS

(\$500 from Asia Magazine) 1969—Arnold Brackman (Book, "The Communist Collapse in Indonesia," W. W. Morton)

Vision Magazine—Ed Stout Award (\$500) for best report on Latin America

1968—Henry Giniger, New York Times

1969—John Goshko, Washington Post

Best cartoon on foreign affairs (\$500)

1968—Don Wright, Miami News1969—Paul F. Conrad, Register and Tribune Syndicate

Robert Capa Gold Medal—for superlative photography requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad

1968—John Olson, Life 1969—Anonymous Czech photographer (Prague, August 1968) in Look

OPC George Polk Memorial Award (\$500) for best reporting, requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad

1968—Peter Rehak, AP* 1969—Horst Faas* and Peter Arnett, AP team

* Fifth and sixth correspondents since 1940, to be honored twice in one year

SPECIAL AWARDS

The President's Award—for having sustained the tradition of a free press

1968—The newsmen of Czechoslovakia, in all media

1969—Neil A. Armstrong, Apollo 11 astronaut

DATELINE DONORS

For more than twenty years, some classifications in the Overseas Press Club's annual presentation of awards for excellence in the coverage of foreign affairs have gained added prestige through the generosity of certain of the communications media, who have provided cash stipends or commemorative medallions for the winners.

This year as in the past, the Board of Governors and the general membership extend their grateful thanks to these donors, whose professional backing has meant so much in the consistently wider recognition of the awards as outstanding accolades in the news field as a whole.

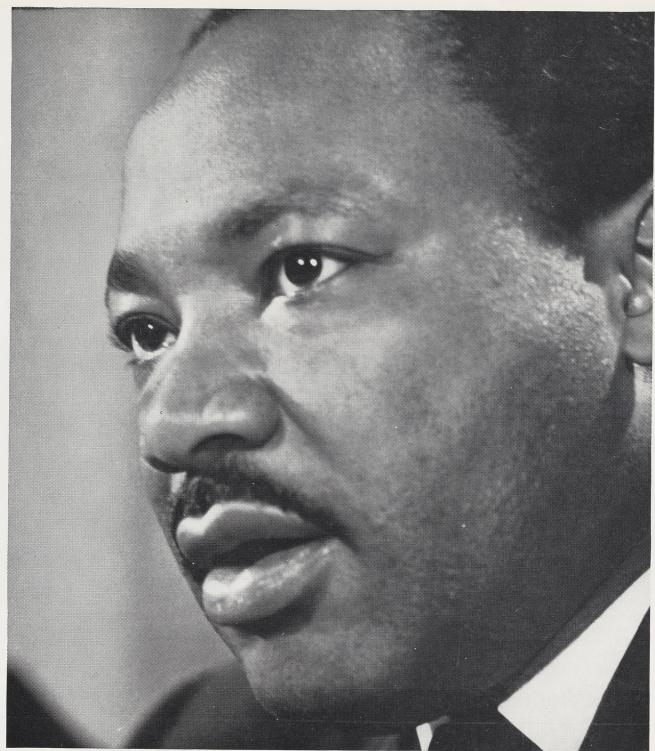
Our salute again goes to the 1970 donors, who are:

CBS—\$500 for the OPC George Polk Memorial Award, in memory of the aggressive young correspondent who lost his life in Greece in an attempt to reach the elusive rebel leader, General Markos, for an interview. Presented annually since 1948.

Life Magazine—the Robert Capa Gold Medal. Established in 1955 in tribute to the famous cameraman who had covered five wars in eighteen years, before falling victim in Indochina to an anti-personnel mine.

The Bache Award—\$500 for the best business news reporting from abroad, in any medium.

The Cartoonists Award—\$300 for the best cartoon on foreign affairs. Established 1968 by the National Cartoonist Society (\$100) and the New York Daily News (\$200).



No man is free until all men are free.

Welping people build a better life

THE EQUITABLE



"I had an accident at home last week and had to get into the hospital in a hurry. There was no delay, no red tape. All I said was, 'I Have Blue Cross and Blue Shield'."



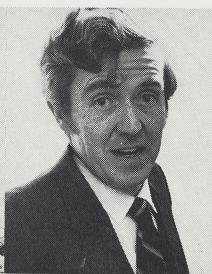
"When you get sick 3,000 miles from home, there's one language everybody speaks. Blue Cross and Blue Shield."



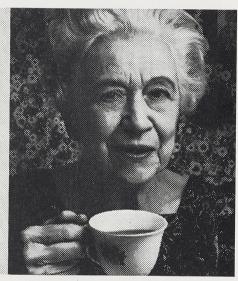
"When you tell your employees you're giving them Blue Cross and Blue Shield, they know they're getting the best."



"Our family has used Blue Cross and Blue Shield so many times, I thought they'd cancel our membership. But they stick by you, no matter what."



"When you have Blue Cross and Blue Shield Family Membership, all your kids are covered at no extra cost. Even if you have a baseball team."



"Blue Cross and Blue Shield? You don't know what you've got until you use it."

More than 65 million Americans have Blue Cross and Blue Shield.

Maybe they know something you don't?





Greater New York's

BLUE SHIELD

United Medical Service, Inc.

Recycling... The eventual solution to solid waste pollution.

Recycling is the re-use of solid waste materials such as paper, plastic, metal and glass in manufacturing basic materials. Recycling is not new: Continental has been recycling steel, paper and other scrap for many years.

For example,
Continental's Northern
paper mills operate
100% on waste paper
products which the
Company collects
for recycling.

The technology needed for recycling all

solid waste has been developed and is available. The next step is development of a total system—from home to eventual re-use of the components of solid waste by primary sources. Continental has urged that a pilot project be undertaken in a major metropolitan area to determine the most efficient and economical method for



disposing of solid waste.

GUESS WHO?



Who builds the inertial navigation system that can automatically guide the new superjets from New York to London with pinpoint accuracy?



Q.

Who builds a combination washer-dryer that's so compact you can put it in a telephone booth?



Q.

Who has developed an electronic driver-readiness tester that is aimed at preventing a drunk driver from starting his car?



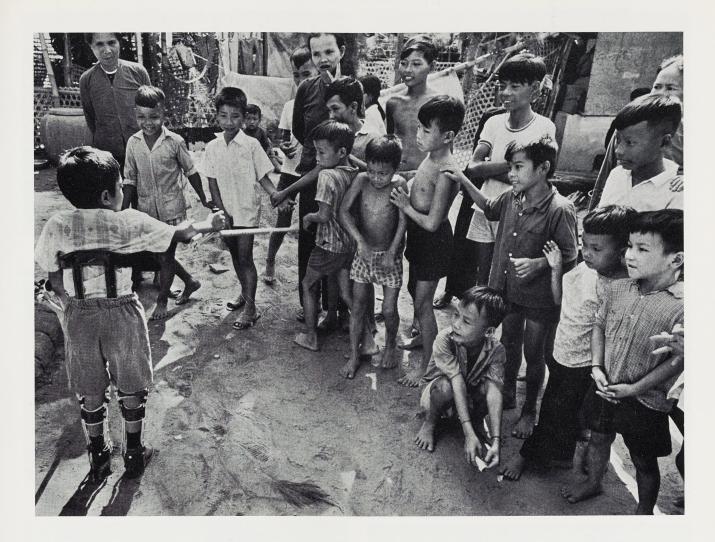
Q.

Who builds a rear-facing infant safety carrier that has been proven a lifesaver in actual use?

A. General Motors

The men and women who also bring you Chevrolets, Pontiacs, Oldsmobiles, Buicks, Cadillacs and GMC Trucks.





What's behind that's still ahead...

A statistic of the Vietnam war comes home. Paralyzed from the waist down by mortar fire, little Nguyen Lau was taken to the U.S., presented with braces, therapy, foster parents, and, finally, a one-way ticket back to his village in South Vietnam. The homecoming was not happy, the readjustment was not smooth. No one can be sure whether Lau, who is 11 now, will ever reach manhood. In this photo by the late Larry Burrows (see also page 16), Lau is shown soon after his return, fending off fascinated children with his crutch.

Lau and his like, maimed children in a maimed country, are only part of what's behind that's still ahead for all of us. The past was indeed prologue for the decade ahead, and even if the war—and the grim peace that may follow it—could be tucked back into somebody's file cabinet, dozens of devastating problems remain.

In this eight-page picture section, we show a selection of trends, omens, flash points, and on-going dis-

asters, many of which, from present view, seem to range from the catastrophic to the merely insoluble. There are environmental tragedies, economic slumps, warlets, and potential full-scale wars. The educational process seems to be breaking down before our eyes, and the boy with the letterman's sweater and the girl next door are flirting with drugs instead of one another. Surely it is the most inauspicious beginning of a decade—in decades.

But the pictures show something beyond hopelessness. Concern has replaced the mindless optimism of the past, the lack of interest in other peoples' problems. Now we are aware of, and at least trying to do something, about the environment and, in some areas, about the system itself. The blacks and the women have tried out their places and found them wanting; many young people won't even try out *their* places. People in general are showing real signs of learning from what's behind what's still ahead...

Jacquin Sanders

The crusade for the environment



Perils of pollution: an Earth Day plea for clean air . . .



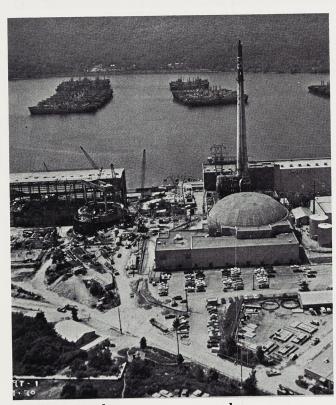
... and a French canal choked with foam.



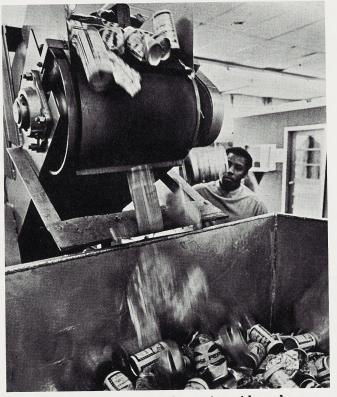
Two counterattacks: bicycles on Fifth Avenue . . .



... and a holiday promenade on the Ginza.



Nuclear power plant: energy versus ecology.



A recycling plant: a new way for coping with trash.



The Rolls-Royce collapse: a new blow to Britain's prospects.



The SST impact: unemployment lines lengthened in Seattle



Japanese challenge: Sony reaches for the world market.



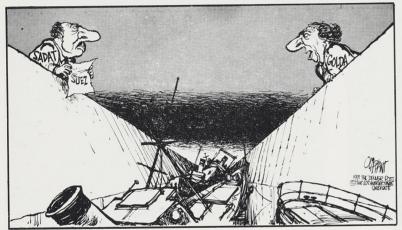
... and Russia primed its TU-144 as the U.S. version died.



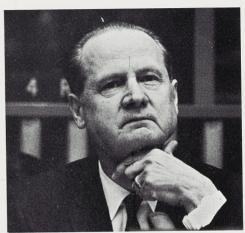
"Never Mind Why —- Just Get Rid Of All Those Stupid Balloon Pictures"



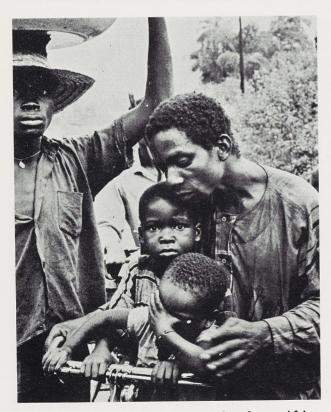
Irish face-off: angry Catholic youths confronted British soldiers in Londonderry as religious strife racked Northern Ireland.



'THE ANSWER IS 'NO'-NOW, LET'S HEAR THE SUGGESTION!



Gunnar Jarring: what can the U.N. do?



Biafran refugees: tribalism continued to haunt Africa.



Welsh apartheid demonstrators: world outrage mounting.



Terrorism: a U.S. explosion...



... skyjackings in the Middle East ...



... and a judge's murder.



Brezhnev, Brandt, Kosygin: building East-West bridges.

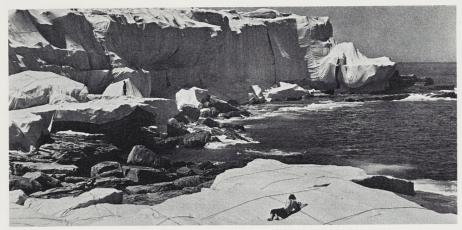


Humphrey and Nixon: new issues began to emerge for '72.

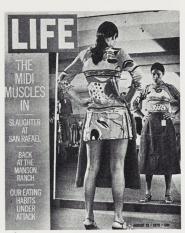


ALLENDE

Salvador Allende: a major Latin America Marxist foothold.



Back-to-nature art: an Australian sea-cliff draped in a one-mile strip of plastic.



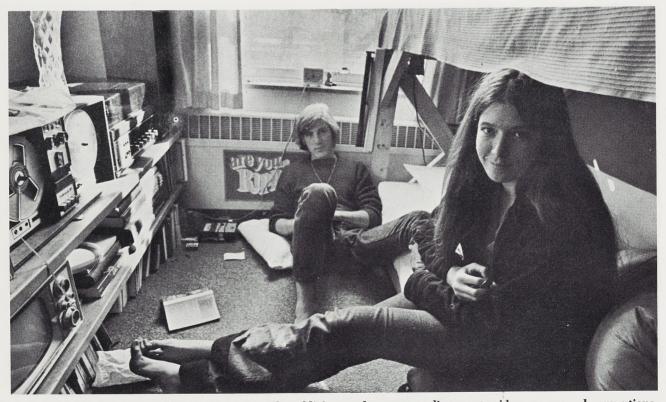
The new fashions: anything goes.



The drug culture: Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin died...



... as Spanish customs and others bore down on smuggling.



The intimate revolution: Oberlin College sponsored coed living as the new morality swept aside many sexual conventions.



Kent State: National Guard shots heard 'round the world.



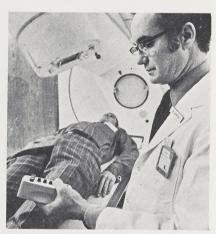
The beleaguered Papacy: a Manila visit amid rising dissent.



Sesame Street: a fresh world of TV.



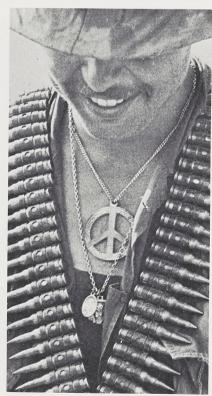
Newark's Gibson: one of a new breed.



Cancer therapy: hope, at last.



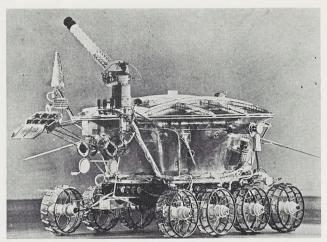
Lady militants: women's liberationists on the march in Washington, D.C.



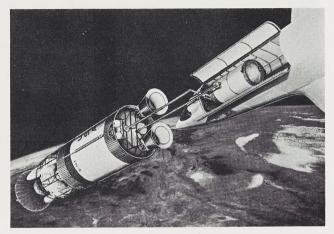
The new GI: peace and pot.



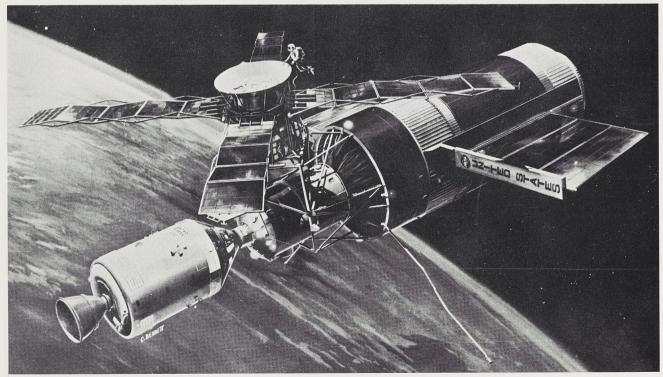
Astronaut Shepard golfing: man on the moon the U.S. way.



Lunokhod 1: a robot vehicle on the moon the Soviet way.



Space shuttle: for commuting in the cosmos.



The Skylab: a trailer-size laboratory, scheduled to orbit in 1973, that will guide planning for future explorations.

You know **Philip Morris.** We produce quality tobacco products — **Marlboro, Virginia Slims, Benson & Hedges, Parliament,** and **Multifilter** cigarettes, among others.

Did you know that **Philip Morris** also produces: **Miller Beer;** Specialty Chemicals for Industry; Specialty Papers; Flexible Packaging Materials; Shaving Products (including **Personna** 74* razor blades), and Chewing Gum (**Clark's** Teaberry, Cinnamint, Fruit Punch, Peppermint, to name just a few of our flavors)?

Through **Mission Viejo Company**, of California, **Philip Morris** is also one of the largest new city and land developers and home builders in the United States.

Philip Morris is international in scope and diversified in its products.

Philip Morris is: Philip Morris U.S.A.
Philip Morris International
Miller Brewing Co.
Philip Morris Industrial
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How to turn a dry well into a \$6,000,000 success story.

Six years ago the Tyonek Indians in Alaska barely made a living, trapping and fishing.

Then Humble paid them \$6,000,000 for the right to look for oil on their land.

The Tyoneks spent their money wisely. They formed their own construction company and invested in a utility company, a lumberyard and a small airline. Then they completely rebuilt their village with modern homes,

electricity, roads and a new school.

As the village took on a new look, the villagers took up new occupations. They became welders, electricians, surveyors and other skilled technicians.

Now the work is done. And so is our drilling. Sad to say, we didn't find oil. But it's nice to know someone got some good out of our search for oil.

Because we've learned, as we

go about our business of making good products and a fair profit, there's added satisfaction in doing something more for people.

Humble is doing more.

Oil & Refining Company

Major Forces To Watch as the '70s Shape Up

by Herman Kahn

Here are some general characteristics of the decade's political milieu—those which seem most likely to have consequences by 1980 of a sort which might especially interest us. A reasonable list characterizing important aspects of this "new political milieu" might go as follows:

- 1. An 800- or 900-year secular trend in Western culture toward a sensate culture emphasizing cosmopolitan, humanistic, anti-militaristic, nationalistic, intellectual, relativistic, scientific, rationalistic, manipulative, secular, and hedonistic values—and soon the onset of the post-industrial culture (see Chapter 1 of "The Year 2000"). We should also note that in the "secure areas" of the West this tendency is likely to be an almost overwhelmingly important trend—at least for the upper and upper-middle classes—increasing greatly some of the trends mentioned below.
- 2. A revival in the West of the post-World War I reaction against nationalism and its symbols and agencies, including government, militarism, military and governmental bureaucracies, etc.—and of the similar but lesser post-World War II reaction against the past in much of continental Europe.
- 3. A current reaction (as exemplified by the New Left, but substantially more general in scope than just this group) against modern science and technology, economic and administrative efficiency, and private and governmental bureaucracies, and the "twelve traditional levers" (see box).
- 4. A crisis of liberalism characterized, among other things, by a reaction against individualism and rationalism, a loss of nerve by liberals and/or general disillusionment with liberal values.
- 5. Increasing role of the intellectual with a concomitant tendency toward challenge of all "irrational" and restricting taboos, totems, myths, and charismas, and toward a questioning of all traditional claims, facts, assumptions, and loyalties; an emphasis on the new and a rejection of the old merely because it is old

(unless it passes "acceptable" intellectual criteria).

- 6. A continuing and perhaps increasing reaction, both domestic and foreign, against the United States government, which is in part an inevitable result of the superpower status of the United States and the excessive postwar dependence on the U.S. (followed by an equally inevitable cutting of apron strings), but which has been sharply exacerbated by the Bay of Pigs, the U-2 incidents, various revelations about the CIA, the Pueblo incident, a general reaction against "Americanization" (cultural, economic, or political), and above all, the Vietnam war and the nuclear "arms race."
- 7. The above is exacerbrated by a general decline in reputation and in prestige of armed forces and governing establishments in general—and of the U.S. armed forces and U.S. governing establishment in particular. This last is itself exacerbated by many seemingly incompetent (as opposed to "immoral") aspects of many recent incidents and issues, as well as by many less important but dramatic or noticeable incidents (e.g., America the incompetent).
- 8. Continued, even stimulated rising expectations (internally among the lower-income groups and externally within the less developed countries) and a lower tolerance by intellectuals and upper classes generally of the existence of "irrational," "indefensible," and "unjust" inequities—complicated often by upper- and upper-middle-class "guilt complexes" and anti-anti-left ideologies.
- 9. A surprisingly intense generation/class gap (but more class than generational)—caused in part by the erosion in the upper-middle classes of the twelve traditional levers (discussed below) and in particular by the tendency in the affluent classes to raise their children in an extremely

- permissive, gratification oriented, passive, overstimulated, "now!" environment that contrasts markedly with the "Puritan ethic," as well as the depression and World War II milieu in which the current 40- to 50-year-old "governing class" was raised.
- 10. In the United States a spotlight on—and start of—the resolution of such "societal failures" as Negro aspirations, persistent poverty, pollution, urban difficulties of various sorts, tending to cause an overemphasis on these issues, unrealistic expectations and a subsequent frustration, disillusionment, alienation.
- 11. Additional alienation of many upper- and upper-middle-class youth—in part stimulated by seeming apathy and callousness of older generations toward various unresolved issues such as 6-10 above, in part an anarchist-like reaction against bureaucracy and the system, which is often simply an extreme version of the first five trends, in part a more or less normal cutting of adult apron-strings—a cutting that now, as always, leads to at least a few dramatic and usually temporary excesses, but that in the current milieu, also seems likely to result in some relatively long-lived and rather eclectic sets of extreme reactions.
- 12. Finally there are the various effects of current news media, such as television (and of mass media generally), on the reporting of governmental violence—both internal and external. While many focus on this as central, and it does indeed tend to intensify and exacerbate almost every one of the above trends, the influence can be exaggerated—in particular while it can make relatively minor issues and mistakes into disasters, in many cases it seems to be as much the ineptitude of the authorities as the nature of the reporting and of the medium that causes the problem.

The first point — the 800- or 900-year secular trend—almost guartees that such attitudes as cosmopolitanism, pacifism, reformist rejection of the status quo, relativist rejection of one's own system as especially precious or valid, etc., are always going to be close to the surface. All of these were, of course, brought to the surface, and/or greatly intensified by World War I. However, during the period from 1940-1955—the period of Hitler, World War II, Stalin, the Cold War, and Korea—it was most difficult, even for those raised in the "debunking" 1920-1940 period, to hold to their cosmopolitan, pacifist, anti-militaristic, relativistic, and reformist values. But by the late 1960s the 1940-1955 experience had receded into the background and such things as: (1) the general de-emphasis on the role and even



Futureologist and director of the Hudson Institute, Kahn is the author of "The Emerging Japanese Superstate" (1970)

value of force, (2) the growing danger from nuclear weapons and the seeming senselessness and cruelty of the Vietnamese war, (3) the renewed vitality of the general intellectual critique of the system, and (4) the spotlight on societal failures, all acted to restore the intensity and faith of, respectively, the cosmopolitan, pacifistic, anti-militaristic, relativistic, and reformist positions. Some other elements in the "new political milieu" either added fuel to the process directly or indirectly through increasing contempt for—and aliena-tion—the Establishment and by furnishing angry and frustrated cadres and elites for protest movements which increasingly incline toward violence, revolution, and/or various elitist politics.

Other important forces and trends which are present today and seem likely to continue through the '70s—trends and forces which I would judge to be quite important, at least in the "surprise-free projection" I am

considering—include:

- 1. The continuing and increasing challenge to—and erosion of the twelve traditional levers (see box), factors emphasizing or compelling "reality testing" type constraints on individuals and societies and a consequent search for "meaning and purpose."
- 2. The rise of a "Humanist left"— "responsible center"—confrontation particularly in academic, intellectual and upper- and upper-middleclass groups.
- 3. Current protest movements causing "revolutionary" and development-type responses to various societal failures and inadequacies—both human and material—combined with the "revolution of rising expectations."
- 4. Increasingly "revisionist" communism and capitalism in Europe (including the Soviet Union) and in the Western hemisphere.
- 5. Lower- and lower-middle-class populist and other "conservative" reactions and revolts against the above.
- 6. The effective political settlement of World War II—including the remergence of Japan and "Germany," and the ending of invidious distinctions among the winners, neutrals, and losers of that war.
- 7. New and old forces for and against European "integration" and European "division."
- 8. A general decrease in almost all current forms and agencies of authority.
- 9. A corresponding worldwide (internal and external) "law and order" problem.

- 10. Better understanding of and new techniques for economic development of some of the less developed countries.
- 11. The coming "1985 technological crisis."

Because of the shortage of space, I will add a comment only to the last item (hoping that at least the thrust general of the other points is clear). The concept of the "1985 technological crisis" was introduced by John von Neumann in an article in the June 1955 Fortune magazine in which he said:

"'The great globe itself' is in a rapidly maturing crisis—a crisis attributable to the fact that the environment in which technological progress must occur has become both undersized and underorganized...

"In the first half of this century

The Twelve Levers

- 1. Religion, tradition, and/or authority
- 2. Biology and physics (e.g., pressures and stresses of the physical environment, the more tragic aspects of the human condition, etc.)
- 3. Defense of frontiers (territoriality)
- 4. Earning a living (e.g., the five guarantees)
- 5. Defense of vital strategic and economic interests
- 6. Defense of vital political, moral, and morale interests
- 7. The "martial" virtues such as duty, patriotism, honor, heroism, glory, courage, etc.
- 8. The manly emphasis—in adolescence: team sports, heroic figures, aggressive and competitive activities, rebellion against "female roles"; in adulthood: playing an adult male role (similarly a womanly emphasis)
- 9. The "Puritan ethic" (deferred gratification, work-orientation, sublimation of sexual desires, etc.)
- A high degree (perhaps almost total) of loyalty, commitment and/or identification with nation, state, city, clan, village, extended family, secret society, and/or other large grouping
- Other sublimation and/or repression of sexual, aggressive, aesthetic, and/or restricting taboos, rituals, totems, myths, customs, and charismas
- 12. Other "irrational" and/or restricting taboos, rituals, totems, myths, customs, and charismas

the accelerating industrial revolution encountered an absolute limitation—not on technological progress as such, but on an essential safety factor. This safety factor . . . was essentially a matter of geographical and political *Lebensraum*: an ever broader geographical scope for technological activities, combined with an ever broader political integration of the world. Within this expanding framework it was possible to accommodate the major tensions created by technological progress.

"Now this safety mechanism is being sharply inhibited; literally and figuratively, we are running out of room. At long last, we begin to feel the effects of the finite, actual size of the earth in a critical way.

"Thus this crisis does not arise from accidental events or human errors. It is inherent in technology's relation to geography on the one hand and to political organization on the other . . in the years between now and 1980 the crisis will probably develop far beyond all earlier patterns. When or how it will end—or to what state of affairs it will yield—nobody can say."

Nothing has happened since that date to indicate that he was wrong in his basic analysis. Recent studies at the Hudson Institute (done as part of the original Year 2000 study and subsequently) indicate that 1985 is a quite reasonable date for a technological crisis of the sort von Neumann described. (See "Faustian Powers and Human Choices: Some 21st Century Technological and Economic Issues," by H. Kahn and A.J. Wiener, in "Environment and Change," William R. Ewald Jr., Indiana University Press, 1968.)

The above, in somewhat sketchy outline, furnishes our surprise-free prediction for the world of 1980. But let me consider some things which could change the surprise-free projection appreciably if not put it completely out of kilter. For example, any one of the following could clearly make a difference:

(1) major or minor nuclear war; (2) widespread nuclear proliferation or other basic change in the strategic balance (as opposed to an initial breakdown of the current five-power nuclear monopoly or an initial introduction of a potentially disrupting new weapon system); (3) collapse (as opposed to erosion) of a Free World morale—or the opposite; (4) collapse (as opposed to erosion) of a Communist morale—or the opposite; (5) revival of an intense Cold War; (6) a new ideology sufficiently dynamic to make a dramatic impact; (7) a dramatic and important new political entity such as a European political community, an incipient world government, a real third force, etc.; (8)

major reversal of alliances; (9) worldwide catastrophic food deficit; (10) sustained worldwide depression.

There also are many things which are on a much smaller scale but might also make a big difference. For example, any of the following:

(1) outcome of Vietnamese war; (2) outcome of Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia; (3) major rebellion in Eastern Europe; (4) Sino-Soviet rapprochement; (5) a Soviet "takeover" of Indian Ocean; (6) outcome of current Middle East confrontation; (7) a partial "reversal of alliances"; (8) early or very accelerated Japanese nuclear armament; (9) "Castroite" success in Latin America; (10) extreme United States neo-isolationism.

The difference between the first and second list is that the first concerns relatively unlikely events but ones which raise very fundamental or nearly fundamental issues, while the second list deals with the range of normal political events but ones which may also be relatively fortuitous or accidental. In most cases, events on the second list seem unlikely to have a big impact on our surprise-free projection even though they could; while the events on the first list might not have a great impact but most likely would.

Seller Beware! Consumer Power Is on the March

by Ralph Nader

The press has always had two journalistic functions apart from editorial: to report the news as it happens and to investigate situations that don't report themselves. Overwhelmingly, their resources have gone to reporting the news. This means that the subject of the full attention of the press can manipulate the press by not, in effect, reporting itself.

What we need is a much greater allocation of resources to purely investigative reporters. The greatest journalism is almost invariably investigative journalism. If you look at the prizes, if it isn't a full-time investigative reporter it is somebody who has been given time to pursue something, like Nick Kotz who com-

bined the two because he was given time to write a story a day, which is the equivalent of saying, "Take off six weeks and dig into it."

If the press were doing its job, our lawyers would then begin to move on to the second dimension: that is, to go on into the area of structural change instead of spending time digging up facts. They would move into litigation, rule-making, what they're most suited for. As it is, we have to start from scratch.

Corporate abuses involving assaults on the health and safety of citizens by dangerous industrial products and by-products and fraudulent or deceptive business practices have been increasingly documented over the past decade. These disclosures have begun to reveal the extent to which legitimate consumer rights are being violated and have stimulated an awareness on the part of many citizens that life can be—and is being—eroded. This in turn has led to a new advocacy of consumer rights.

The discovery of hazards, many of them hidden by new scientific and technological development, has served to dispel the myth that the consumer can protect himself in the modern marketplace. The fledgling consumer movement has revealed that the prerequisites of the free-market system—a meaningful choice of products for the consumer and the information on which he can intelligently base that choice—are virtually nonexistent. It has also exposed the fact that many corporations are opposed to free competition and to a free market system but, rather, seek a controlled market through government protectiveness or antitrust violations.

One of the trends we are now witnessing is that a greater portion of the economy is taking on the character of corporate socialism, with corporate power utilizing government power to protect it from competition. Examples of this trend include the oil-import quotas, the granting of large subsidies, such as those to the maritime industry, and the effort to socialize the risk and cost of a number of corporate activities through the tax mechanism or through inflated and constantly renegotiated government contracts.

To a large degree, public evils are an inevitable result of concentrated power which is insulated from broader human values. A government agency such as the Department of the Interior and a private corporation such as General Motors are both examples of this kind of power. The choice is not necessarily to take some of the power that now resides in the corporate sector and relocate it in government. My judgment is that no matter where power is located, it will be abused if the



The latest report by consumer advocate Nader is a survey of pollution by one of his teams of Raiders: "Water Wasteland"

pathways are not open for a broader spectrum of values that have power behind them demanding recognition.

The consumer movement is concerned with opening these pathways through structural reforms in government and corporations that will give the public a voice in decisions affecting large numbers of people. One of the changes consumer organizations are trying to accomplish is the reclaiming of government power by citizen power. But the reform of corporations is going to have to involve a much more marked change, what I would call the popularization of the corporation. This will depend on new mechanisms for holding corporations and corporate executives accountable, for a broadening of the rules of disclosure to cover the whole impact of the corporation on society, with accompanying redefinitions of corporate rights as opposed to individual rights.

The first area where corporate reform must be sought involves the disclosure function. For example, why shouldn't we know from the annual report the amount of effluents U.S. Steel is dumping into the water, air and land—and where—as part of its social cost accounting? Why shouldn't we have the information on how much research the coal industry is doing to find ways of controlling the coal fires it has set burning all over Pennsylvania, for which tax funds now are being used to try to extinguish?

Much of this kind of information is veiled behind claims of trade secrets which are, in many cases, trade secrets in lethality. This is another area in need of reform. At present, there is no way to determine what is a trade secret. In California, pesticide information sought by migrant workers was considered a trade secret by the Department of Agriculture in that state. The more I look

into this area, the more I realize that a trade secret is not usually held against competitors—they know all about it-but against consumers

or against the public.

Detailed product safety informa-tion, also kept under corporate wraps in the guise of trade secrets in many cases, will also have to be made available. Computerized data banks for consumers can have an enormous impact for corporate reenormous impact for corporate re-form by encouraging competition based on quality. At the present time, the means for gathering and providing information about prod-ucts and services for consumer use are as primitive as the Gutenberg printing press. But as efforts are made to advance computer tech-nology for consumers there will nology for consumers, there will exist greater challenges and probes

into existing power structures.

With regard to the right of information, we are going to have to distinguish much more clearly between individual rights and corporate rights. A corporation, for example, does not have the same right ample, does not have the same right to privacy that an individual has. Why should the relations between the Treasury and corporations, in the tax field, be so completely impenetrable? It will be necessary to formulate new rules of disclosure and new information systems that will make the impact of corporate activities on society much more visi-

Another area where change will be sought is the personal accountability of corporate officials for violations of law, in addition to corporate responsibility. What we need is a new set of sanctions that pierce the corporate veil and go to the responsible officials. One approach is extending the suspension power of the Securities and Exchange Commission to executives seriously violating pollution and other safety laws.

A further approach is the concept of social bankruptcy. If a company can be thrown into bankruptcy because it is not paying its bills, why should it not be thrown into bankruptcy for illegal behavior in making thousands of people sick and de-stroying and depreciating other people's property without compensation, which is what pollution does? What we must recognize is that no company should be permitted to make any profits so long as it illegally de-stroys its neighbors' health and prop-erty. Profits must have a moral content. When they are obtained or increased at the cost of other people's health, they are corrupt profits.

Many of these reforms can be brought about by rewriting the rules governing the chartering of corporations at the Federal level, the only level where government is big enough to handle a corporation the size of General Motors and where there is a forum for a national debate on the question of corporate responsibility.

Finally, the encouragement of a new kind of citizenship is one of the chief requirements of the consumer movement. This means an increasing number of full-time "public citizens" who will apply tools of action that are now being developed to challenge corporate abuses at the community level as well as at the Federal level. The stake in the current consumer environmental movement is as great as the fact that this country has the power of destroying itself domestically and inadvertently through an unbridled technology. Through such attempts at reform that are outlined here, we may hope to reduce our problems to levels of tolerability.

Business Must Show Skeptics It Has Answers

by James M. Roche

Our nation faces many formidable domestic challenges today and in the decade ahead. We want to diminish pollution, increase minority opportunities, rebuild our cities, assure the safety of our people, and beautify our countryside. And without regard for priorities, costs, or practicable standards, some want to see these goals achieved at once.

Business can play a leading role in attaining many of these goals. But its ability to do so is being impaired seriously by irresponsible criticisms, often false accusations that "business is to blame," and assertions that free competitive enterprise cannot handle the job. A major challenge of the 1970s is to find a more effective way to convince skeptics that the free enterprise system has the vitality and the relevance to help improve our social as well as our material well

The attacks on free enterprise emanate from several quarters, but most often, unfortunately, from young people. Many are sincere. They are intelligent, as well, but they also are uninformed and inexperienced, lacking real comprehension of the prob-lems attendant on achieving the ideals all of us seek.

It is well to remember there is no such thing as an impersonal abstraction called "business." The American business community is as large as the nation itself. Everyone who is

gainfully employed is involved in business. Business is inextricably bound into our way of life. The nation depends on business. Only prospering business can provide the new job opportunities, the taxes, and the products we need.

Nearly 31 million Americans own stock directly in American corporations. But nearly all of us have an ownership interest in business through our life-insurance policies and our pensions and trust funds. These have substantial assets invested in business through ownership of

common stock.

Local, state, and Federal tax revenues depend on successful commerce. So, too, does much of the financial resources of our vital private institutions—the churches, schools, universities, hospitals, foundations, and charitable organizations. The profits of American corporations provide an important part of the in-

comes of these institutions.

Because all of us depend on the earnings of business in one way or another, and because all of us are or will be taxpayers, all of us should face up to the difficult decisions required to attain our current social aspirations. Instead, many of those who seek such change ignore their own obligations. They search for scapegoats, declare that business fails to accomplish the task, and that some other form of enterprise could succeed better and more quickly.

They say if something is wrong with American society, business is at fault. Business did not create discrimination in the United States, but business should eliminate it. Business did not cause the deterioration of our cities, but business should rebuild them. Business did not create poverty and hunger in this country, but business should end it.

Business supports these objectives wholeheartedly. But it asks people



General Motors chairman Roche is an industry spokesman in the defense of private enterprise against "irresponsible critics"

to recognize that reaching them will be costly and that business is not always the best vehicle for their accomplishment. We all must assume our share of responsibility for mak-

ing a better land.

On its part, American business is fulfilling vital social responsibilities every day, and with notable success. Business does so by providing useful work at high wages, useful products at fair prices, and economic growth that generates taxes for government and earnings for stockholders. These are the major social responsibilities of business.

As a nation, we must weigh the costs involved in meeting our social ideals—costs in both money and convenience. We must decide how much personal sacrifice we are willing to make to help realize our current so-cial goals. We must answer questions such as: How willing are we to use appliances less in order to conserve power-generating equipment? How willing are we to restrict our personal mobility in order to lessen traffic congestion? And most important, how willing are we to pay higher taxes and higher prices for goods to reach our ideals?

It has been estimated, for example, that the cost of meeting high standards for air and water pollution levels may total at least \$10 billion annually during the next decade. So it would be prudent to establish national priorities and to determine how much our citizens will pay in dollars or in conveniences sacrificed to reach

those goals.

The automotive manufacturers are working vigorously to eliminate cars as a source of air pollution. This work began as soon as automobiles were identified as pollutants. The first emission controls were installed on 1961 model cars. Since then, progress has been steady and considerable. The 1971 models emit 80 per cent fewer hydrocarbons and 65 per cent less carbon monoxide than did the uncontrolled 1960 cars.

By the autumn of 1974, new control systems developed by our company are expected to reduce hydrocarbon emissions by 95 per cent, carbon monoxide by 85 per cent, and oxides of nitrogen by more than 80 per cent, compared with the 1960 models. These reductions, however, will not meet the requirements of the amended Clean Air Act of 1970. Under its provisions, hydrocarbon emissions must be cut an additional 2 per cent, carbon monoxide another 1 per cent, and oxides of nitrogen

by 10 per cent more.

We are trying diligently to develop the technology that will enable us to meet the stricter requirements, and hope to do so, at least for hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emissions. But there is some question whether the cost of eliminating those additional 2, 1, and 10 percentage points are worth the extra cost to consumers.

While meeting such questions as these, we must go forward to fulfill our social aspirations. Business can make major contributions, if it is allowed to do so without excessive harassment. It can help create the 15 million new jobs that must be available for the new increased work force in this decade. It can help minorities to win equal opportunities in jobs, in businesses of their own, in housing. It can continue to provide a wide variety of quality products that consumers need and want. It can employ its talents and resources to reduce pollution of the air and water and to rehabilitate urban centers. And it can continue to generate the earnings to pay dividends on which investors depend and to generate the taxes that government must have to operate.

If business gains the understanding, encouragement, and confidence of the people, then one of the major current problems of our nation—the challenge to the free competitive enterprise system—will be alleviated. Business itself must keep emphasizing and demonstrating that America's ideals can best be attained through the vigor of our present system. The task will be immeasurably lightened if it has the understanding and the aid of news media.

Job for Media: Help Save the World's Life

by Russell E. Train

Within the past few years the American people have awakened to the critical nature of environmental problems and to the need for action. The American press has played a significant role in this awakening and in pointing the way toward constructive avenues of action. The responsibility of the press to continue this role will, if anything, increase over the next few years.

By the late 1970s, what are now

the major problems of air and water pollution should be well under control. The legal authority to attack these problems, the resources of men and money, and the technological knowledge will be available and will be used. The public and the govern-ment will demand increasingly stringent air- and water-quality stand-



Train is President Nixon's chief environmental aide and chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality

ards, but the gross pollution which now exists should be a thing of the

The demand for more stringent standards, as well as the continued growth of population and the economy, will necessitate a strong and continuing program to control air and water pollution. But even more important will be the host of other environmental problems, some new, some old but unsolved, which will present a challenge to the nation.

The thousands of chemicals that are manufactured in ever-increasing amounts and the hundreds of new chemical substances that are commercially produced each year represent a potential health and environmental threat of undetermined mag-

The problem of making our urban areas comfortable and satisfying places to live for all inhabitants has been with us for many years and will continue to be with us.

Disposal of the huge amounts of solid waste which accumulate each day will become ever more difficult until economically and technically feasible systems for recycling come into widespread use.

The environmental implications of doubling energy production every ten years are not yet fully under-stood, but they may force us to make difficult choices between growth and

environmental quality.

The decade of the '70s will continue the accelerating process of making the world, for all practical purposes, a smaller and smaller place. The problems of the less developed countries will be increasingly difficult to ignore or evade, and these countries face environmental problems that are more severe and immediate than any we have known in the United States.

At the root of many of the difficulties faced by the majority of the world's people is the immense burden of rapid population growth. The increase in population erodes the gains made in economic development and makes the achievement of a decent environment immensely difficult

However, despite the problem of population, there have been significant economic gains in most of the less developed countries, and these gains also pose problems. Not only does development bring the familiar problems of industrial pollution, it also forces us to face the impossible demands on resources and energy that would result if a significant portion of the world reached the same consumption level as the United States presently has. The values of equity, political stability, resource availability, and environmental quality will somehow have to be brought into balance.

The public concern with environmental problems is not a fad. The problems are real, the public is aware of them, and it will not rest content until the problems are solved. Also, the environmental upsurge is in keeping with many deep-seated trends in American life, particularly the shift in emphasis toward "quality" in goods and services and away from mere "quantity." Progress toward our environmental goals will be ac-

companied by some economic conflict over the necessary cost of accomplishing these goals, but I am firmly convinced that the public is willing to pay the price to achieve a quality environment.

The government shares the public commitment. There will be major increases in the budgets of the agencies concerned with environmental protection, as illustrated by the more than 90 per cent increase proposed by the President for next year's budget for the Environmental Protection Agency. There will also be increased government regulation because so many of our environmental problems require that the government intervene in order to achieve a solution. We shall also see growing activity at the international level designed to deal with the many problems which can only be solved on a worldwide basis.

Given the complex nature of environmental problems, the press, on the whole, has done a remarkably good job of informing the public. But the complexity of the subject poses difficulties for the information media. No area of public policy involves more different kinds of knowledge—science, politics, and economics are all significant elements of most important environmental decisions. We must develop a corps of

full-time environmental reporters who can understand and interpret the varied elements of environment-

The press feeds on drama, and it has performed a great public service in dramatizing our environmental problems. But it has done less well in following up dramatic events and in exploring in depth the circumstances and consequences of the stories reported.

The public needs to be educated to realize that one test of a chemical on a group of mice cannot show with certainty that the chemical causes cancer in man. There must be a realization that the typical government decision does not involve a fight between the good guys and the bad guys, but a difficult weighing of the benefits of a particular action against its costs. These subtleties may detract from the drama of a story, but they are necessary for more responsible journalism. They are also necessary if the press is to fulfill its vital mission of making both the public and the government more responsible.

There have been many indicators over the past months that the press is fulfilling this mission in an admirable fashion and that it will continue its vital role in improving environmental quality.

What's Ahead: Pressure Points Abroad -

Correspondents Risk Return to Dinosaur Ranks

by Arnaud de Borchgrave

Orbital satellites can now spot the number of military trucks parked in a vacant lot in Minsk. Radio telescopes-cum-computers can measure in a few months more star images than all the world's astronomers have managed throughout the 20th century. And electron microscopes can magnify a million times. All these things have extended our sensory experience far beyond anything ever imagined. We have seen more changes in the past 30 years than in the previous 7,000 years. Yet our basic thinking still remains rather primitive. We suffer from arrested thought-processes and cling to a way of life that increasingly resembles

the proverbial march of the lemmings to collective suicide.

We are living in a world of science and technology that we do not really understand. If the present momentum of scientific endeavor is maintained—and, with 85 per cent of all the scientists who ever lived alive today, I see every reason to suppose that it will be speeded up mankind will be faced, in our own lifetime, with stupendous ethical problems: the rapid development of social and mental sciences, babies cultured in laboratories from conception to birth, the control of hu-man heredity and longevity, and many more. Scientists tell us that the biological timebomb now ticking away may even lead to some kind of immortality for man. But we have not yet begun to develop a capacity to govern our new and enormously complex and swiftly changing social environment.

It has often been said that most political leaders have little, if any, scientific awareness. The same can be said about today's foreign correspondent. The world, at least as I see it, is full of dinosaurs. Some take the form of the nation-state, others of a church or international organ-

ization. All are outwardly active, some even show signs of vigor, but most are inwardly dying. And it is the foreign correspondent's unfortunate duty to spend an inordinate amount of time plodding behind the dinosaurs and reporting on their activities, which only interest a diminishing breed of readers.

An exception must, of course, be made for the world's top stories, whether the agonizing withdrawal from Vietnam, the threat of yet another war in the Middle East, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviets, or fratricide in Pakistan. Nor do my remarks apply to the wire services whose job is well delineated—and, by and large, well done.

But largely overlooked by today's newsman abroad is what William Messner of the Cincinatti Council on World Affairs calls the growing importance of "international functional problems"—e.g., spreading urban blight and soaring crime rates, urban renewal, pollution and traffic control, and behind-the-scenes debates on "compulsory birth control." What is being done—or not done—in other countries about problems that are acutely relevant to American readers is mentioned in passing instead



Senior foreign correspondent of Newsweek, de Borchgrave has reported from 82 countries, was wounded three times in Vietnam

of being analyzed in depth. So much of our output, especially from Western Europe, is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the cares and concerns of even the most sophisticated Americans. The United States is the world's biggest laboratory in all fields, and the foreign correspondent could be making an invaluable contribution to the "input" of new ideas from across the Atlantic.

Being one of the few correspondents who is privileged to return to the U.S. twice a year for a coast-tocoast lecture tour sponsored by my employer, I enjoy a unique vantage point for someone who makes his living reporting from overseas. Americans at all levels are totally absorbed by long-postponed domestic crises. Vietnam and the Mideast are the limits of their interest or capacity to retain foreign affairs. Americans are beset with domestic crises wherever they look-in their own homes, in their own blocks or neighborhoods, in their companies, cities, and states. Most major cities are broke or going broke. Why aren't European cities bankrupt, too?

A coup in Turkey or Abba Eban's latest utterances do not seem too important next to the threat of dismissal hanging over thousands of teachers in New York because of lack of funds, or the exodus of one company a week from Manhattan.

It is not hard to understand why a brilliant young girl at Newsweek, who has just been mugged for the third time in six months, is far more interested in the breakdown of social structures in congested urban areas than in the latest gambit in Britain's bid to join the Common Market. Like most of the people I met on this spring's lecture tour, she bombarded me with questions on "what are they doing about it over there?"

The world's urban population is

now doubling every eleven years—against every 35 years a short while ago. That means a ninefold increase in metropolitan areas by the turn of the century, less than three decades away. Crime in New York increases from 11 to 15 per cent a year. In a population crowded beyond human endurance, pathological behavior is taking over.

If intelligent and assiduous readers of leading American publications are not aware of how foreign cities and regional and national govern-ments are coping with all the problems of modern living and survival, then, it seems to me, we are not communicating. Few foreign correspondents are in touch with the scientists and scholars in European universities and the planners in governments who are working on these matters. Newsmen who cover NATO prefer to write about force levels rather than about the alliance's attempts to coordinate its efforts in the fight against pollution. In the last three decades, we have used up more minerals and fuels than in all of history, and consumption will double again in the next 25 years. But most of us are so jaded that the battle to prevent further deterioration in the

quality of life elicits only yawns.

If this continues, we, too, may join the ranks of the dinosaurs. The alternative is a unique opportunity to blaze new trails and make ourselves not only relevant but indispensable in the international market-place of ideas.

In This Decade You May Color Russia Gray

by John Dornberg

Covering the Kremlin is like trying to report what goes on in a jungle. The only thing a Moscow correspondent can really do is observe the rustling in the underbrush, the half-visible movement in the branches overhead, and record the occasional cry of pain.

cry of pain.

This has always been the case. But in the next decade, I fear, Soviet restrictions on foreign newsmen will make the jungle thicker, the rustling more inaudible, the movements harder to perceive. The cries of pain, however, will become more frequent and more piercing, for the ghost of Stalin haunts the Soviet Union of today.

De-Stalinization is a short-lived

hope of a bygone era. Initiated by Nikita Khrushchev with his "secret" speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, it reached its zenith with the removal of the dictator's body from the Lenin mausoleum in 1961. It ended with Khrushchev's own ouster by Stalin's heirs in 1964. Since then, de-Stalinization has not only been halted but reversed.

only been halted but reversed.

It is the end of de-Stalinization that explains the new freeze which has turned to naught the literary and artistic thaw of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and it accounts for the gagging of novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. For Solzhenitsyn and his novels are, after all, the living embodiment of de-Stalinization.

For almost a decade the body of Stalin lay in a virtually unmarked grave by the Kremlin wall. In June 1970 an oversized bust of the dead dictator was unveiled there. That marked a new dramatic milestone in his systematic rehabilitation.

The majority of Soviet people have resigned themselves to this rehabilitation with silence and self-censorship and a life once more dictated by fear. A miniscule minority has found the courage to protest. A small but courageous and tenacious group of nonconformists, they wage a lonely and largely hopeless struggle: in the name of freedom, democracy, justice, and, yes, even the paper constitution which Stalin himself drafted.

But the tide, I fear, is moving against them.

It is the backward swing of the pendulum that will, most likely, set the tone for the 1970s and result in a more detailed and more stifling control of all aspects of public life by the Communist Party.

In the party itself, to judge from its recent 24th Congress and the provincial conclaves that preceded it, the influence of two of the most reactionary forces in Soviet life is growing: the military and the police. Theirs is a sobering demand for tighter discipline, law and order, super-patriotism, militancy, and blind fealty to dogma—currents which, in the Soviet context, have always led to a turning of the ideological screws and further curtailments of freedom.

Beneath a propagandistic veneer of collective leadership, the U.S.S.R. is again moving toward one-man rule and a new "cult of personality"—Leonid Brezhnev's. Step by step, like a master mason laying brick upon brick, he has enhanced his role from that of an equal among three to undisputed primus inter pares. And while it is always risky and presumptuous to predict events in the Kremlin, all signs indicate that the peak of Brezhnev's power is not yet in sight.

Not only has he cloaked himself in the Stalinist mantle and title of 'secretary general" of the party, but despite the fact that he holds no official government position, Brezhnev butts into, delivers major speeches to, and, presumably, even runs meetings of the council of ministers, the Soviet cabinet, whenever he chooses.

He does not even attempt to preserve a fig leaf of collectivity. In 1966, when the Five Year Plan was unveiled, its draft had been approved at a plenum of the Central Committee and issued in its name. Last February, when the long-awaited 1971-1975 plan was made public, Brezhnev did not even consider it necessary to go through the motions of holding a Central Committee meeting, and the draft carried only one signature: his own.
Rarely has a Soviet document

raised more false hopes in the U.S.S.R. and abroad than that plan. Ballyhooed as the first to stress growth of the consumer-goods industry over producer goods, it has been interpreted as the long-plagued Russian's new deal. The claim is vastly

exaggerated.

The slight bias in favor of consumer goods has to be qualified.

First of all, the growth rate of light industry will not be accelerated. It is the pace of heavy industry that will be slowed down. Second, the trend is not really new. The Kremlin abandoned the once sacrosanct priority of heavy industry three years ago.

The results of this shift in emphasis have been minimal, and it is unlikely that they will improve great-

ly in the decade to come.

Given the meager foundation on which it has to work, and assuming optimal conditions, the Soviet economy can do little by 1975 or 1980 other than shortening the waiting lists for consumer durables such as automobiles, refrigerators, furniture, and apartments and reducing the queues in front of stores and counters that now are part of Soviet daily life. But there will still be lists and there will still be queues.

And unless the economy itself undergoes a total revolution with meaningful incentives and the sort of socialist competition envisaged by Czechoslovakia's former economic czar, Ota Sik, the goods at the end of the queue will be as shoddy as ever. The prospects for such a revo-

lution are nil.

The much vaunted economic reforms, conceived by Prof. Yevsei Liberman of Kharkov University and enacted—in watered-down form by Kosygin—in 1965 might have brought about that revolution. But the reforms exist today in name only. They have been completely eroded. The new Five Year Plan barely gives



On leave to write a book about newsmen in Russia, Dornberg was Newsweek's Moscow bureau chief (1967-70) until he was expelled

them lip service and calls, instead, for better control of the command economy by the party.

Why? Because the Soviet Communist Party cannot afford reform, no matter how much the economy may demand it. By granting more authority and autonomy to managers and giving scientists the opportunity to display more initiative, which after all is what reform is all about, the party's monopolistic hold would be threatened.

The facts of Soviet economic life that will dominate the 1970s are

simple.

By the most optimistic Western estimates, the present Soviet gross national product is just less than half of that of the United States. By 1975, if the new plan's targets are met, it should be just more than half, but the gap in absolute terms will have widened.

On the eve of the 24th Party Congress a Soviet economist projected that the national demand for food products could be met only if productive capital assets in agriculture were to increase from 2.2 to 2.4 times. That will not be possible un-

til 1985

The Soviet Union today can boast of impressive military biceps and an empire that matches in size and sphere of influence the realm of Imperial Russia. But it enjoys the status of a superpower largely because of its sheer size and mass, because of an effective propaganda effort, and because it has elected to put almost all its resources into the building of a huge military machine and the perfection of a few flashy scientific projects which in no way reflect either the real quality of the society or the potentials of its economy.

Behind the Potemkin village facade of sputniks, lunakhods, atomic bluster, and military muscle, the U.S.S.R. is a second-rate economic power which faces a growing technological gap with the West.

It has fewer computers in use, and all of them of an older generation, than West Germany or Britain. And by 1977, the 60th anniversary of the revolution, the total amount of nuclear-generated electric power in the Soviet Union will approximate that of the state of New York.

In the decade to come, these will be the economic facts of life that, I believe, will make the Soviet Union, despite the militant and neo-Stalinist proclivities of its leadership, far more tractable and cooperative in foreign affairs than it has been in the past.

Stretched tight, the Soviet economy today simply demands relief, and the Kremlin will seek to ease its burden where it can—short of jeop-ardizing what it considers its basic national interests and defense needs.

The Russians genuinely want a settlement in the Middle East and will continue to pursue it. It is true that they have exploited the conflict to increase their influence in the Arab world and improve their position in the Mediterranean-a Russian dream since Czarist days. But their aims and desires are tempered by the hope of avoiding direct confrontation with the United States which they cannot afford. The threat of such a confrontation is inherent in a renewal of the Arab-Israeli conflict, for Soviet prestige is committed to Arab success. Because they fear another Arab defeat and know that the only way to prevent it would be through direct intervention, which in turn would imply a confrontation with the U.S., the Russians will seek a peaceful settlement.

Moreover, the Kremlin, burdened by aid to client states running at an estimated \$1.6 billion a year plus almost \$500 million in assistance to underdeveloped countries, is looking for ways to reduce the load. The Middle East would be the logical

place to make the cuts.

In Europe, too, the U.S.S.R. seems genuinely interested in some form of detente, provided that it legitimizes the status quo. In this, the Bonn-Moscow pact will play a crucial role. If West Germany adheres to its demand that the treaty will be ratified only if and when the status of West Berlin has been improved, the Soviets will eventually force the greatest obstacle to such improvement, Walter Ulbricht, their most truculent ally, into line.

Although Moscow hopes to reduce the military burden on its economy and will endeavor to avoid show-downs with the U.S., its overriding foreign policy concern in the decade to come will be the potential threat of China. The Russian fear of China is visceral and irrational; and notwithstanding recent attempts to improve governmental relations with Peking, it is the China question that ultimately will determine Soviet be-

havior in other spheres.

Fear of China and its nuclear potential has already cooled Moscow's desire to curb the arms race and seriously affected the very important strategic arms limitation talks. They may drag on for years. If they do, it will not be for fear of the U.S. It will be the Chinese threat that may persuade the Russians to withdraw their earlier proposals, even those for limiting antimissile defenses.

The U.S.S.R. in the 1970s, I believe, will be a country genuinely interested in seeking accommodations. But there should be no illusions about possible amelioration of the Soviet Union's internal situation. In the decade to come, it will remain a drab, gray, bitter, and backward

piace.

Some Bangbang, Much Traveling In Middle East

by Wilson Hall

Working conditions for journalists covering the confrontation countries in the Middle East-will depend on whether there's peace, war, non-shooting, or permutations of these conditions.

Arab governments are noting that Israel is winning the press war because its officials are more available and more articulate at telling their story.

I had appointments for background



In New York again after a Mid-East stint, Hall since 1953 has served NBC in the Middle East, Latin American, and Saigon

briefings with three high-ranking Israeli officers only a few hours after I arrived in Tel Aviv.

In Cairo, the military spokesman's announcements are distributed through the official Middle East News Agency and he does not make himself—or is it themselves?—available for questioning at briefings or news conferences.

No resident correspondent in Cairo has interviewed the President of the UAR since 1962. Presumably, all this will change for the better, granting that it couldn't be much worse.

Fortunately, this non-availability of important officials is not the case

in Jordan.

I expect, or maybe I just hope, that journalists will hear fewer influential Arabs using the old, vicious-cycle argument: the U.S. press is controlled by the Zionists, no Arab story will be used, so why give facilities for covering Arab stories; stories are covered by correspendents in Israel, those stories are used—therefore, "proof" that the American press is a solution of the proof of the

therefore, "proof" that the American press is pro-Zionist.

The most frustrating bugaboo in the Middle East is that cover-everything-cloak called "security." In general, information types in all countries know what we want and try to help. However, they can always be blocked and too often are by some intelligence officer who claims that doing such-and-such would shatter the nation's security. Security is tightly and too often outrageously

defined.

One Arab security officer—no names, to protect the guilty—allowed a script to say that the army had American .50-caliber machine guns, but would not allow any pictures. At the risk of revealing a military secret: I know that the Israeli armed forces know what an American .50-caliber machine gun looks like.

At the risk of revealing yet another military secret: The Israelis and the Egyptians have sandbagged positions on opposite sides of the Suez Canal. The Egyptians can see the Israeli positions and the Israelis can see the Egyptian positions. It is the contention of some non-security-conscious members of the foreign press that a closeup picture of an Israeli soldier with binoculars in a sandbagged position showing no background in relation to topography is not exactly a picture of the latest secret weapon. Tell that to a security officer and see where it gets you.

So long as each side is convinced that the other has TOTAL DE-STRUCTION OF THE ENEMY written on the blackboard of every military briefing, there will be security regulations. However, I doubt that anything reported by journalists from either side in the past few years has raised any eyebrows in Chief-of-Staff meetings in Tel Aviv or Cairo.

Censorship will probably get less capricious only because it can't get much more so. As a sidebar, I wonder how many of our listeners, viewers, and readers know that the only country in the Middle East that does not have censorship is Lebanon.

If there is peace or non-war between the confrontation nations, our bangbang editors are in for a great disappointment. They can console themselves, for there are bangbang stories to come from the area. There will be coups, counter-coups, under-the-counter coups in some of the seldom-covered Arab states. These will be tough to cover. It's difficult enough now to get into and report from many of these countries. I do not like to imagine how difficult it will be to get in and cover when revolutionaries—for want of a better word—attempt to overthrow present regimes.

The only prediction I would put more than a dime on is that the Middle East beat will continue to be a traveling beat. The unofficial record of eighteen nonconsecutive days at home base during a three month period will be easily broken.

On Asia: Fools Rush in — and Prognosticate

by Robert S. Elegant

Mark Twain had his Connecticut Yankee remark that predicting events a century off was easy, but tomorrow's damnably hard. In Asia, a tenyear span is even more damnably hard.

The 1970s began with two major areas—China and Southeast Asia—locked in different stalemates partially shrouded in obscurity. The general grayness was illuminated by occasional flashes of movement—occasionally, though not invariably—accompanied by revelations that gave the working press a chance to tell the world what was happening.

In China, the Maoists had failed to change the world's most populous nation by a mass revolution. Peking was working hard to restore a functioning economy and to rebuild a workable structure of power. The People's Liberation Army had effectively seized whatever machinery of power still existed—and the generals would rule harshly. Though they would rule no more harshly

than was necessary to attain their two limited objectives, they would be forced to put down intermittent opposition from dissident youths and dissatisfied workers who had been shown the possibility of effective resistance by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Sooner than had been expected, a Peking regime seeking "normalized" relations made the token gesture of admitting an American Ping Pong team, accompanied by three respected American journalists. While the gesture was perhaps the beginning of a slow search for better relations, it was also obviously another step in Peking's campaign to distinguish between a presumably hostile American government and the "friendly feeling" between the Chinese and American peoples. All in all, and despite its slightly comic nature, the gesture certainly occasioned hope.

In Vietnam, the hapless focus of the world's interest in Southeast Asia, it had twice appeared that the stalemate might be broken. Successful raids into Cambodia had shifted the main theater of operations westward. Later, the South Vietnamese went into Laos to cut the essential Ho Chi Minh Trails—and come back bloodied, but not defeated. Again, the main action had shifted to an area outside South Vietnam.

to an area outside South Vietnam.

By the very fact of the South's initiative, it was self-evident that Hanoi would not find conquest easy. But lackluster South Vietnamese generalship, despite the ordinary soldier's adequate performance, offered no guarantee that Saigon could resist indefinitely when American support was reduced to a minimum.

The Cultural Revolution in China and the foray into Laos, like the Vietnam war in general, had been damnably difficult to report. In both cases, correspondents contended with official obfuscation, prevarication, and, not to put too fine a point on it, downright lying. Considering the obstacles, the press did not do too badly. But it had no reason to be proud of its performance.

As the American presence decreased, South Vietnam would become ever more difficult to report. Feeling itself at odds with the press, Saigon would, increasingly, offer not cooperation but obstruction. In addition to normal Asian and/or official scorn for the press, Saigon felt, not without cause, that it had been deliberately misrepresented by some journalists, motivated either by ambition or ideology.

Besides, the war in Vietnam would, like China's struggle to find her own identity and establish that identity before the world, offer only few dramatic episodes. A stalemate was beginning in Vietnam. If it could be maintained for some time, it would,



Foreign affairs columnist for The Los Angeles Times, Chinawatcher Elegant has authored "Mao's Great Revolution" (1971)

necessarily, count as a victory for Saigon, which was defending its territory against Hanoi, which was determined to conquer. The search for a viable form of government, to a degree responsive to the wishes of the people, would be long and arduous. I am not quite foolish enough to predict the results, particularly since the examples of other Southeast Asian nations offered reason for both hope and despair.

Slowly building its economy, China would seek more "normal" relations with the outside world. Hostility to-ward the United States would continue unabated for at least the first half of the decade. But fear of encirclement by the Soviet Union would encourage efforts toward better relations with China's immediate neighbors. Trade would expand, as it had in the relatively untroubled 1950s. Finally admitted to the United Nations, the Chinese would, initially at least, use the world organization as a platform for propaganda (another way of saying "presenting their own viewpoint"). But China's militancy would decline as she saw opportunities to extend her influence by means other than "people's wars of liberation"—and to attract outside assistance for her economic growth. Toward the end of the decade, China might participate in normal international councils. She might even enter into limited relations with the United States—if the issue of Nationalist-held Taiwan could be shelved by an agreeable formula.

China would find new opportunities to extend her influence by "normal" means as the American presence in Southeast Asia declined. Despite islands of relative stability like Singapore and Malaysia, internal national and regional tensions would keep the area in turmoil. Indonesia's natural abundance, untrameled by illusions of imperial glory, would of-

fer some improvement in the lot of the common people and opportunities for Asian and Western business. Unless it was overthrown, the "Burmese Way to Socialism" of General Ne Win, which was neither Burmese nor Socialist and led nowhere, would frogmarch that lovely country toward disaster. Southeast Asian nations would still feel the threat of the ambitions of Peking and Hanoi.

The strongest new factor in the Asian equation would be the outwardly most predictable and the essentially most baffling: Japan. So much has been written about the fantastic economic boom in the islands that border Asia, but are not Asia, that repetition is pointless. Whether Japan's GNP will, as often predicted, exceed our own by the year 2000 is important, but not crucial. The crucial issue: How will some 110 million Japanese, cramped in an area twice Missouri's, use their enormous economic power?

The Japanese compulsion is simple. "They want to be No. 1—first in Asia and then in the world," as one Japan specialist puts it. "But the questions they themselves have yet to answer are: How will they attain supremacy and in what spheres?" The tremendous energy of the Japanese is really restrained by neither a sense of guilt nor futility as a result of World War II. Certainly, intelligent Japanese have no desire to repeat that disastrous experience when they can gain by legitimate commercial means the economic advantages they failed to gain by arms.

Japanese investment abroad is selective, while the homeland is preserved from foreign influence by high obstacles against foreign firms and capital. Tokyo is talking about an Asian Common Market which remarkably resembles the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

Perhaps economic dominance, extending from Asia to the underdeveloped world and nibbling at Europe and the U.S., will fully engage Japanese dynamism. But enormous economic power will require an increase in military power, however reluctant the Japanese may be. There are indicating signs that the Japanese are not utterly reluctant to tread again Bushido (the Way of the Armed Warrior).

Armed Warrior).

The funeral of super-nationalist novelist Yukio Mishima, who
preached a return to that Way, was
an immense spectacle. The image—
and, perhaps, the Godhead of the
Emperor—is being refurbished. Serious—and not necessarily chauvinistic—Japanese theorists contend that
Japan must rearm for self-defense,
if only because American guarantees
have been devalued.

Total military resurgence or another campaign to conquer Asia is

most unlikely. Nonetheless, Japanese businessmen are likely to come into conflict with China over the wealth and markets of Southeast Asia—and the flag follows the yen. Since Japan can easily manufacture the nuclear missiles China already possesses, a nuclear standoff is likely. But one must, at the least, expect a greatly enlarged Japanese naval pres-

ence throughout Asia.

Japan may clash with China, or Japan may, temporarily, unite with China. Since Japan is not going communist and China is not going capitalist, prolonged cooperation is unlikely. Equally Japanese pride cannot endure a prolonged period of apparent subservience to the U.S.

Asia cannot look forward to peace.

The biggest weapons and the biggest armies will be Chinese and Japanese. They will probably avoid direct clashes but are likely to contend by proxy. The new era in Asia will be largely devoid of the American power which has granted *relative* security since World War II. Moreover, the area is too unstable and too dynamic for prolonged peace.

What's Ahead: New Methods, New Systems -



Satellites provide quick easy communications nation-to-nation, regionally, and to ships and planes

Something Up There Will Send Us the News

by Daniel D. Karasik

There on the color television screen was astronaut Alan Shepard flubbing a six-iron shot on the dusty lunar surface. A few days later came remarkably clear, live, color coverage of splashdown—some of the most vivid shots from the far Pacific, from a helicopter hovering over the spacecraft.

We have become a little blasé about seeing this sort of thing. But live telecasts of the space missions dramatize the recent phenomenal advances in communications techniques made possible by satellites.

When Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, it took a month for the news to reach London. Today, the Intelsat system of synchronous communications satellites parked 22,300 miles in space around the equator provide a full range of instant, reliable, high-quality communications — including television—to practically all the populated areas of the earth.

The system consists of the satellites, owned by the ever-expanding International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium which now has 77 member nations, and earth sta-

tions, owned by designated entities in each country.

Regular transatlantic television service became available when the first commercial communications satellite, Early Bird, was put in service by Intelsat just six years ago.

Today four satellite television channels are available around the clock in the Atlantic area, as well as two in the Pacific and one in the Indian Ocean area. One Sunday in June last summer, during the World Cup Soccer matches in Mexico there were four simultaneous live telecasts beamed over the Atlantic—three soccer matches to Europe and South America, and the LeMans auto race to the United States. There are now an average of 100 satellite television transmissions a month, twenty times as many as there were five years ago.

A good part of this rapid growth is because television has been quick to use to advantage the unique multidestination capability of the satellite. Every earth station that can "see" a satellite can simultaneously receive transmissions via that satellite. Thus, with the rapid proliferation of earth stations, the satellite becomes an extremely effective way to distribute programming. The recent Ali-Frazier fight was satellited to earth stations in 20 countries, as well as Hawaii and Puerto Rico. There are now 53 antennas operating at 45 earth stations in 37 countries of the world. At the end of 1975 there are expected to be 94 antennas at 77 earth stations in 58 nations.

The Communications Satellite Corporation, or Comsat, operates eight of these earth stations—two on each coast, and one in Hawaii, Alaska,

Puerto Rico, and Guam. Comsat is a private corporation that fulfills three roles. It is a U.S. carrier, it represents the United States in the Intelsat Consortium, and it also acts as the manager of the satellite system for Intelsat.

This year, the first of the large fourth-generation Intelsat IV series was launched and put into service in the Atlantic area. Each of these satellites has the capability of providing an average 5,000 voice-grade, or telephone, circuits, or twelve color television channels, or a combination of both, for a projected life of seven years. The Intelsat IVs are about 100 times more efficient than the pioneer Early Bird. Although they will provide 100 times as much service, the cost of these satellites has increased only about four times.

The fact that the efficiency of communications satellites has made quantum leaps with each new generation of satellite has brought—and will continue to bring—great reductions in the cost of communications. Today, Comsat's minimum charge for color television service with Europe or South America is only 15 per cent of what the peak charge for the same color service was in 1965. But television accounts for less than 2 per cent of the volume of satellite traffic. The overwhelming bulk of Intelsat traffic is telephone and record communications. Since satellite services have been available—a period of spiraling inflation—the monthly charges for leased voice and record circuits have dropped by more than half in some cases.

This is the pattern that reveals the



Satellite receiving station

shape of things to come as we move into the '70s. The snowballing efficiency of succeeding generations of communications satellites is going to continue to lower the costs of interconnecting communications. What is now and will soon be technically feasible will become economically possible—and therefore a reality.

And the use of satellites will not be limited to overseas communications. Comsat, as well as other corporations, is seeking authority from the Federal Communications Commission to establish a domestic common-user, multi-purpose communi-cations satellite system. The Comsat system envisages more than 130 earth stations and would employ sat-ellites each of which could handle 24 color television channels or as many as 14,400 telephone circuits. Based on this system, Comsat has made a proposal to the American television networks to service their television distribution at a cost of about half of what they are now paying for terrestrial facilities. Such a system could be operational less than three years after it was authorized, so communication services via a domestic satellite system should be available by the mid-'70s.

This vastly expanded, highly efficient, flexible, low-cost communications resource will foster a fantastic variety of new services and techniques, both foreign and domestic.

Before 1980 rolls around, there will also be special-purpose satellites such as those in a global system for aeronautical and marine communications and traffic control. It will be technically possible for transocean air passengers to follow network newscasts on their headsets or make a telephone call to anywhere in the world.

There will, of course, be global direct distance dialing. All the world—and that means Communist China and the Soviet Union—will be using integrated satellite systems.

American television will be accompanied by stereo sound, and three-dimensional telecasts will be no longer a novelty.

A world broadcasting organization will act as a clearing house for program information and program rights. Its around-the-clock planning center and operations coordinators will service constantly changing configurations of regional and global TV networks. News, entertainment, and educational syndication services will distribute their output speedily and economically via satellite.

CATV will become, in effect, pay TV networks, linked by satellite and offering a-year-in-advance schedule of sports and entertainment programs

to attract subscribers.

Direct broadcasting from satellite to home will not be compatible with the structure or requirements of commercial or instructional television in the United States, but the government will use direct encrypted command and control television for national security and civil defense.

Radio stations and newspapers located in remote areas will receive network programs and syndicated news services via satellite on small antennas mounted on their roofs.

Because of satellites, distance will be meaningless. The trend will be decentralization. Large corporations will operate from pastoral campuses with elaborate communications facilities.

The Sunday Times will be at your door, and as fat as ever, but may be printed at a number of plants around the country from plates produced by high-speed, high-resolution facsimile transmission. Time and Newsweek, using the same facsimile techniques, will print same-day editions in plants around the world.

Advanced electronic communications techniques will eliminate much business travel. Greatly increased operating efficiency will make the four-

day week a reality.

And foreign correspondents and bureau chiefs will look back on the good old days when they could put aside the query from the home office—at least until after dinner—because they were "out-of-pocket."



After twenty years as a print and TV journalist, Karasik in 1966 joined Comsat where he is the manager of TV development

The '70s Press: New Tricks for An Old Trade

by John Tebbel

Every seer rich enough to own a crystal ball is agreed that the '70s are going to bring profound changes to the newspaper business and that these changes will be the result of the technological revolution. The only problem is how to separate what is possible from what is probable.

is possible from what is probable.
Several imponderables cloud the crystal ball. Perhaps the major one is whether a new printing process may be developed within the decade that will make both letterpress and offset obsolete. That such a system is on the drawing board is known and can be identified as the ink-jet system. Briefly, it is a direct input system, totally computerized, by which editorial, advertising, and photographic material would be fed directly into a computer, which would then instruct a press what to do. No plates would be necessary. Excellent color would be possible with this system—depending, of course, on the quality of the paper, although proponents claim that high quality production would be possible even with relatively cheap paper.

If this system turns out to be feasible and affordable, it will seriously affect the generally accepted prediction that 90 per cent of America's newspapers will be printed by offset in 1980. There are a good many publishers, however, who will not even go that far and who are putting their money on the survival of letterpress, which they think will be made possible through the development of a photosensitive printing plate cheap enough to make phototype setting a more economical way to print than any other. Some progress has already been made in this direction, and one product, known as Letterflex, is already in use on several dailies. Some publishers, however, assert that the cost is still prohibitive.

In any case, there is general agreement that, no matter what happens, the computer will be the key instrument to bring about radical technological change on newspapers in the coming decade. The change will be more rapid when the cost comes down far enough so that both medium-size and small papers can afford the equipment. Computerized typesetting has been a fact of newspaper



Veteran reporter, educator, editor, and author (30 books), Tebbel is a journalism professor at New York University

life for some time.

What is still in the future (some say the very near future) is the general use of the cathode-ray tube in the whole editorial process. Reporters will be able to write their stories directly on a computer keyboard and correct them on the tube, using a light pen. Wire services will transmit indexes or abstracts of their files which will appear on the editor's tube, and he will then feed those he selects into the computer to be edited and set. Even halftones will be stored and reproduced by computer.

Some experts predict that classified advertising will be threatened by outside computer services, which will be capable of providing quick readouts of this kind of information in a highly specialized way. Thus, a man who wants to buy a house can ask a computer data bank to give him what is available in his price range in a particular location. How soon this kind of service will replace newspaper classified advertising, if it ever does,

is a debatable question.
"How soon?" That is what everybody wants to know. The makers of hardware, naturally, are optimistic. Harris Intertype, for example, manufacturer of an electronic editing and proofing system, points to a growing list of users which includes such large dailies as The Washington Post and The Evening Star, The Sacramento Union, and The Memphis Commercial Appeal & Press-Scimitar. This company flatly predicts that some kind of electronic editing will be in use by virtually every newspaper and wire service in the country by 1975. Other companies, notably Hendrix, are involved in the field, and there is no question that it is the most rapidly growing of all the new "hardware" developments in the newspaper business.

All of these systems are based on the supposition that the newspaper of the future is going to be composed (whether by letterpress, offset, Letterflex, or whatever), printed on a press (whether by something as radically different as ink-jet or not), and distributed in the usual way. There are some experts, however, who contend that the real revolution is going to be in the way newspapers are printed and distributed, although they do not agree about what the way will be.

If the burgeoning video cassette industry gets its machines standard-ized and becomes the mass-market influence it promises to be, that system would be one way to print and distribute newspapers that does not exist now. Another involves an industry on the brink of tremendous development: micrographics, using microfiche which could print a whole

newspaper on one tiny square of film. Still another possibility is the transmission of newspaper pages by cable television, either selectively by channel according to the kind of information transmitted, or by using a slowly rotating picture on the tube. In the latter, the viewer would obtain a print of any page by activat-ing a slave machine, rejecting every-thing else he didn't want to look at.

In contemplating the future, it is a good thing not to get carried away by the fact that all of these gadgets are technologically possible now. The horse was around for a long time after the automobile was invented. And the history of technology reminds us that new systems tend to coexist with old systems for long periods of time before complete re-

placement takes place.

Several factors suggest that the complete and rapid revolution so many predict will not, in fact, occur. One factor is cost. Everything that has been or is being developed is expensive, and until mass production is possible, not everyone will be able to afford what is available. One has only to remember the long lag between the time television was technically feasible and when it became commonplace. In the kind of costprice squeeze the newspaper business is in, the new inventions offer a long-range but not a short-range solution to its problems. Another inhibiting factor is the attitude of the labor unions, and there are no quick and easy answers to that problem.

In addition, we had better accustom ourselves to the fact that other countries are likely to be ahead of us in technological advancement. Several already are—Japan, England, and Finland, to name some. We have the potential to leapfrog over them all, but whether that will happen depends on unpredictable economic and social developments.

Of one thing we can be certain. hatever the technology that Whatever

emerges, it will not displace the man who sees and reports events or that other man who selects and edits the news. The human brain is still the best computer in the world and is likely to remain so. Machinery is only a mechanical extension of that brain.

What we have been talking about here is the transmission of news, but there still persists the hopelessly old-fashioned idea that it might be just as important to direct some effort toward improving the quality of what is being transmitted.

Communications That Puts You in the Story

by Richard Dempewolff

HCTV stands for "Head-Coupled Television." You wear it like a space helmet. What happens then is about what you'd expect. Instead of "spectating" a remote battlefront sequence or a Mars exploring venture from the other side of the family room, you are right in the middle of the works—along with the spearhead platoon, NASA's robot Mars Explorer, or what have you. You dodge mortar fire (without risk of death), or stroll the Martian terrain with your eyes at eye-height above the planet's surface, surrounded by the scenery and sound (if any) of Mars. In special cases, HCTV wearers may be linked electronically to a robot camera, so that when they turn their heads or move their eyes, the remote camera will swing accordingly. The robot, too, will go in whatever direction it is ordered by specific command of the viewer.

Short of teleportation (science fiction's method of reducing people to wavelengths, transmitting them to distant places, and reconstituting them into folks), HCTV could well be the ultimate giant step in mass com-munications. Instead of bringing the news to people, it would, in effect, bring people to the news. What's more, it is no wild dream. Basic hardware exists and so do working prototypes. Scientists involved in its development describe it as a "televiewing" or "distance seeing system" that will permit people to see and do things from afar. It is an extension of the senses to a remote robot TV eye that may be controlled by neuromuscular responses of the person wearing the receiver.

Until now, development of HCTV

has been aimed toward specific military and space applications. Typical would be placement of a remote-controlled HCTV robot camera on the surface of a distant planet. The device could be guided and monitored by astronauts orbiting the celestial body. Risk and expense of manned landing and takeoff would be eliminated, along with the complex business of providing each astronaut with an artificial environment to sustain him on the surface. Yet, from orbit they could explore the surface.

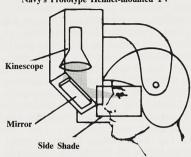
Basic hardware for HCTV has been around since portable TV cameras were perfected about fifteen years ago. The applied concept of human sensory extension is older than that. During World War II, sophisticated training simulators were specific transporters of men's "presence" from where they were to someplace else, where they weren't. Admiral De Flores's mock-up cockpits of fighter planes were "flown" by student pilots in combat situations, against a motion-picture background of clouds and squadrons of "enemy" dog-fighters that zoomed in or whirled away according to the manner in which the simulated plane was "flown." During the '50s, tank drivers learned to maneuver in battle in a stationary mock-up, in which a TV screen simulated the tank's viewing slot. The picture revealed actual maneuvering of "enemy" model tanks on a model battlefield, as seen by a mobile robot TV camera that moved around the mini-battleground according to the way the student operated the controls on his simulator. The camera was a remote extension of his vehicle. To all intents he was in a free-wheeling war, the outcome of which depended on him. He was

By wrapping a TV view around the viewer-like Cinerama without neighbors-the near-ultimate sensa-



Dempewolff is editor of Science Digest; this piece is adapted from a story in the February 1971 issue by Rod E. Packer

Navy's Prototype Helmet-mounted TV



tion of "being there" is achieved in HCTV. The psychological illusion would be completed by the robot camera's ability to respond to the receiver-wearer's movement of eyes, head, arms, and legs, as though the camera were part of him. Such remote feedback of neuromuscular commands is called "telefactoring." James Katayama of the Naval Weapons Center, where much HCTV research has been done, considers telefactoring a long way from "developed." Experts in remote sensing and response at the government's Advanced Research Projects Agen-

cy (ARPA) are more optimistic.
Says Dr. Charles Kelley in his
"Manual and Automatic Control": "Man and machine will function as a unit . . . neuromuscular systems being integrated into and extended by sensory and motor channels reaching into the vehicle."

Besides its obvious "gee whiz" features, HCTV, even without its telefactoring potential, boasts some thoroughly practical "man-amplifing" advantages: a "Cat's-Eye" tube that will give wearers perfect vision in near darkness; coverage of vast areas using multiple robot cameras; instant magnification of any remote thing of interest, with zoom lenses; total recall of any observed event by replay of video tape; an ability to explore close-up — from remote, friendly locations—hostile environments unsupportable to life.

Blue sky aside, how far along is

Robot TV cameras with electronic (if not neuromuscular) controls are an operating fact. As for receivers, in 1961 Philco put together a minia-ture TV tube and curved mirror image reflector combination that could be attached to a viewer's head.

Naval Weapons Lab has an HCTV prototype in the form of a helmet. The mini-tube points downward and the scene is reflected to cover the wearer's entire field of vision by an

angled mirror.

A system devised by Howard Hughes's engineers clings to the side of the head and projects a reflected infrared image via a monacle-like lens to one eye. The device was tested for use in foul-weather plane landings so that pilots could see through the fog with one eye, while the other picked up the actual landing strip when it came into view.

Newer developments have brought HCTV even closer to practicality. A New Jersey concern, Thomas Electronics, has perfected a quality mini-tube only 1 inch across and 5 inches long. Ferranti, in England, has

one with a ½-inch screen!

Combined with wide-angle optics newly perfected by Perkin-Elmer and systems concepts from think tanks like General Electric's TEMPO, which spell out details for telefactored robots that can be sent remotely into space or to sea bottoms, production of full-fledged HCTV remains a matter of money, detail, research, and time. The parts and systems are here and available for final development of production equipment.

McLuhan's Knell — Let's Say He's Wrong

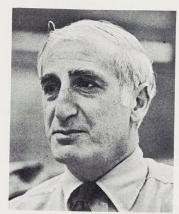
by Ben H. Bagdikian

Practitioners of printed news have spent the last generation suf-fering from fear of death. When radio news started, newspaper publishers thoughtfully held its head under water for about three years (The Biltmore Agreement: no network news origination, no long newscasts, etc.). After that failed, print reporters feared that the trade would be taken over by elocutionists. Life magazine's spectacular success created an article of despair that one picture was worth 10,000 words, or at least \$10,000, and words were obsolete. Television entered with the terror of action footage, graphics, and the fellows on camera with curly hair pieces, piercing eyes, and cryptic smiles. After that came Marshall McLuhan's cult that called for stripping the cerebral cortex of its tyranny of print. Nevertheless, in 1971 the basic news in the United States is still originated by the printed news system and, despite a few lost big dailies and a recession year, Gutenberg's godson is doing very well.

Now comes cable and the computer. They will mean a capacity to call up on a screen instant electronic displays of news with a possibility of hot pursuit of information in depth and quick retrieval from an index of available subjects. At its present primitive state it is an idle cable channel transmitting a picture of a UPI ticker at work. It isn't too far beyond that to call up selected stories on the screen and after that, perhaps, a quick facsimile of the few items you want in document form.

Are we dying again?
Not in the '70s. And not for a long time after that, if at all. Many things now laboriously reproduced in print will be flashed quickly onto a screen for a few seconds, and fast news obviously will continue to be aired before it is printed. Stored footage and special cable news channels, plus widespread monitoring of public events over dozens of channels, will give the consumer a richness and choice he does not have now. But this will merely accelerate the trend already evident in printed journalism, toward analytical writing involving complex data that takes reading at one's own pace.

Editors will become more important because selecting the day's news package out of the daily flood is an editing function, and one thing the new technology is going to do be-fore anything else is increase the daily flood. Standard machines today send words into newsrooms at 60 words a minute. News will soon be dumped from computer to computer at tens of thousands of words a minute. Editors will have to use



Washington Post assistant managing editor, Bagdikian has just written a book on media, "The Information Machines"

computers that will store, sort, and index the incoming flood.

The reporter at his best today is already a writer-researcher, and he will become even more so. Even more than today, it will be his job to integrate information from many sources. His writing will have to be more clear and sophisticated because his audience has alternative sources of information—heavy schooling, radio, television, libraries, magazines.

In the future, the readers will have all these things, but the new gadgetry will make these alternative sources even more convenient.

The reader toward the end of the '70s will probably have available to him, if he wants it, pretty much the same standard sources of the reporter—speech texts, press-conference transcripts, background articles, and books, perhaps all through the newspaper's library, which will save the reporter's basic source documents in computerized form for sales to readers through home consoles.

Eventually, the distinction between magazines, newspapers, and broadcast news will begin to get fuzzy as they tend to funnel through the same home machines, with the consumer

able to select from each. But this won't happen in the '70s.

Newspapers that survive will become information utilities, not manufacturing plants. Editors and re-porters will be analysts of daily political and social information, as they are today, but it will become more clear than it is today that this is the business they are in.

Whether this becomes the work of a few large organizations-metropolitan dailies dominating huge regions—or of a proliferation of small papers serving small communities, depends on technology and on how

Modern Man Modern Machines *

and, as usual ... THE BYLINE OF DEPENDABILITY



The Associated Press

good each becomes at its journalism. At the moment, offset technology favors new small papers, but most small papers are inadequate journalists for their own communities. If large dailies learn how to produce tightly zoned editions with tightly zoned local news, they will probably dominate their regions, creating even more severe monopoly problems than we have today.

It's a safe bet that, at least during the '70s, print men will not have to purchase hair pieces as a condition

of work.

Seven TV Seers Offer Insights Into TV Future



Mike Wallace A television leader in covering big and controversial stories for CBS since 1951

What follows is an exercise in farmed-out punditry.

My assignment from the Dateline editors was for a thousand words of clairvoyance as to the effect of electronic journalism on the decade ahead . . . and vice versa.

A characteristic reticence persuaded me it would be more seemly to cajole half a dozen friends and colleagues to stick their necks out in my stead. I did and they have, for which I'm grateful.

The results, I think, reinforce the notion that journalists are happy to indulge their taste for absolutes regarding any profession but their own.



Harry Reasoner Commentator, critic, correspondent, and newscaster since 1942; now the co-anchorman with Howard K. Smith on "ABC Evening News"

I don't think television news is going to do much to the '70s, and I sincerely hope the '70s won't do much to television news. I reject out of hand the concept of journal-

ists as leaders and molders, and hope we just go on reporting what news we can find out as intelligently as possible and let the citizenry decide what to do about it. The great danger is that the decision might be to muzzle or control or improve it. With all our ineptness and slowness (where were we on ecology in 1960, or on developing racial conflicts in 1950, or on the changing nature of the Pentagon in 1955?), we've produced the best-informed population in history. It seems likely, however, that we have at least ten years of work left.



James Day
Former KQED head,
now president of
Educational Broadcasting Corp., which last
year consolidated the
roles of Channel 13
and NET

Television news is making an abstraction of reality. Events, things, numbers, actions spill into our living rooms nightly having little or no relationship to the home-to-office-to-home lives we lead, the tangible world of see and feel. Body counts. GNP. Moon voyages.

The end of that road is total blending of reality and fantasy. The ultimate reality — apocalypse — becomes the ultimate fantasy.

The trend ahead is a redefinition of news. Not the aberrant, the transient, the abstract, or the non-happening of the p.r. man's creation. But what happens to me, what I can see, and feel, and affect. The future, abetted by new technology, is a kind of narrowcast journalism.



Edwin Newman Known as the "instant Renaissance man." an NBC News correspondent (flying over 500,000 miles), moderator, host and critic since 1952

I find it hard to see how the '70s will differ from the '60s, so far as television news is concerned, except in one important particular. That is that if there are any credibility gaps, they will develop more quickly. This means in turn that what those of us in TV news say will be examined more closely and more skeptically and with greater sophistication.

This development seems to me to be inevitable in any case, as television news grows more familiar and is taken more in stride. It is being hastened, however, by a fairly widespread disillusionment with government at all levels, caused by the failure of a variety of problems to go

away, and by the continually disillusioning effect of the war in Viet-

We will all be obliged to do our jobs more carefully, and—provided that the attitude that develops is healthy dubiety and not cynical disbelief—we will all be the better for it.



Robert Northshield An NBC News producer noted for documentaries on subjects like civil rights (1963) and fur seals (1971); his "Solar Eclipse" won 1970 Emmy

In the '70s, there will be more people. For many well-known reasons, that's bad.

There will also be more television, and that might not be so bad. All the technological developments—cable, cassettes, and such—will bring greater diversity and may even start to fulfill the hope of minority-interest programming.

est programming.

It is altogether reasonable to believe that the so-called good television—i.e., that part that the writer is involved in—will get even better. It always has.

It is reasonable to believe, too, that the small-caliber penetration will continue. Entertainers will entertain, talk shows will talk a lot, dramas will be unprovocatively dra-

matic.

What might truly happen is that television will become more its unique self. There might be (because there should be) more "live" stuff because with more people and more machines there will be more happening

pening.

We'll have the audience, the equipment, the desire, and the ability. It's a question of taste.

That's not new but it surely would be different.



Fred W. Friendly
Former president of
CBS News, now
Murrow Professor of
Broadcast Journalism
at Columbia
and TV consultant to
the Ford Foundation

For all the technological changes that can be anticipated in broadcasting for the '70s, it is human innovation that may change communications most decisively.

Broadcast journalists are beginning to communicate as journalists first and broadcasters second. The pear-shaped projectors are being replaced by reporters who know how to piece together complicated issues and then explain them. The set piece

58

—that telepromptered, highly styled selling of a story—is being replaced by serious correspondents thinking and sharing their story with the viewer or listener.

What is becoming clear is that no audience can digest material as fast as a teleprompter can deliver it. Whether it is at a network newsroom or KQED in San Francisco, the spectacle of a thinking reed at work on a complicated, news-worthy idea is the way to capture imaginations.

The 1970s will be the age of the reporter. Satellites, the wired city, miniaturized equipment will help him. But his field of vision will have to be matched by his commitment to content, if man is to continue to be the message.



Leslie Midgley
Executive producer of
"CBS Evening News
with Walter Cronkite,"
his "The Faces of
Red China" won
1958 Peabody Award;
was onetime Look m. e.

The decade of the 1970s will see fact replace fiction as the dominant

force in television, a medium of communication still not completely understood even by those of us who work in it.

When I was a teen-ager, magazines with the largest circulations relied on fiction for their audience appeal. When Henry Luce started Time, he never envisioned its present circulation; he had in mind motivating a group of thoughtful men of influence. He didn't even dream of multi-million readers. Only in the 1930s, with the birth of Life and Look—both pictorial products—did the inevitable swing from fiction to fact evolve as the wave of the future in magazine publishing. (It is probably not coincidental that the '30s were times of harsh reality.)

The same recognition of the real

world will, inevitably, come to television. Nothing in the world of make-believe can match the power and importance of what is really happening when it is reported with

Because our arm of journalism is a product of technology, technology will have a powerful influence on how we work and thus what we report in the '70s. During the '60s the jet airplane and the video tape recorder wrought great changes in how we were able to cover the world and how we reported what happened to it. In the decade ahead, those implements, which then seemed so astonishing, will be dwarfed by a girdle of satellites and by electronic cameras and recorders tiny enough and therefore powerful enough to change our whole pattern of reporting.

But most important of all, the '70s will bring to television journalists the realization of what television itself really means: the understanding that there is simply no precedent, anywhere, for a service that undertakes to bring to 70 million Americans of all ages, all geographic areas, and all ethnic groups a decent, honest account of what is happening in the world every day. And all this linked to the consumer market and consequently the advertising market which affects the life style, attitudes, ambitions, unease, happiness, and/or rage of a great heterogeneous mass of humans.

Prophets and seers and politicians have looked down from the mountain and foreseen a tragic or a glowing future for our nation and our world, depending on how well we make use of the "new marvels of communication."

Well, they're right.



A to Z in Business News. Correspondents in 106 cities from Anchorage to Zurich

For Women in Journalism — Outlook Hopeful

by Marion Buhagiar

The past has little or nothing to teach us about the future of women in journalism. For too long this nearprofession was for women what the fight ring was for the kid from the ghetto—an all-or-nothing way out for the very few. Not out of poverty—for the background of most women journalists is and has been middle-class. For the women, rather, it was a way out of the powerlessness, the tedium, the anonymity, and the oppression of the genteel life.

A surprising number of the women who "made it" in journalism in the past had theatrical ambitions—which some of them carried out in flamboyant careers in print. No wonder then that most of the women cooperated with their publishers' merchandising of their picturesqueness, their crankiness, their cheeky audacity, their incongruous presumption, and their cuteness. For women who lusted for travel and who relished the mantle of power that the publication made available and the tough equality the interview situation made tangible, the slights and sarcasms of the city room and editorial office were endurable.

The changes that are now taking place are not the symptoms of some fulminating disorder—triggered by heightened consciousness among women and the legal arm of the Civil Rights Act. The business is changing—and those changes are probably going to affect women in the business more than men.

For years, the men who hired and fired the staffs of newspapers and magazines had a richness of resources. First, the ambitious, driven, and gifted sons of the lower middle class—anxious to move out of factory and clerking jobs into a semi-profession where wit and talent were the license. The Depression leavened this stock with the graceful sons of the upper classes who wound up college educated and unemployed.

That mixture remained quite stable until the 1960s, when the alternatives for the application of wit, talent, and drive began paying a lot more than journalism. The choices

—education, foundations, nonprofits, government—became a lot more attractive and honorable; they were also far less challengeable than the old "sell-out" to Hollywood or public relations. A widely shared, unprovable, impression is that the talent and energy level of men coming into journalism is less than it once was—while that of the women is higher.

The case can be made most dramatically, perhaps, by trends in business and economic reporting. One of the most successful new magazines in the field, Institutional Investor, began using a high proportion of women writers—notably Heide Fiske—right from the start. The Wall Street Journal finally let down the barriers to women a few years ago. Perhaps the most distinguished writer on the business of Wall Street is Carol Junge Loomis on the staff of Fortune. And when Mrs. Loomis left the magazine's "Personal Investing" column to write middle - of - the - book stories some years ago, Fortune tried out and flunked a series of four or five male writers before settling on the most logical in-house candidate: Miss Wyndham Robertson.

Wyndham Robertson.

The plain fact is that most men who take pains to learn enough about the intricacies of sophisticated finance and the apparatus of business and corporate operations think they can make more money in that system than outside writing about it. Women have been excluded from corporate executive life with far more rigor than they have been excluded from reporting about it. And they are doing a very rigorous analysis of business personalities and operations with a lot less cynicism and more gracefulness than the situation might justify. This may well be an area of

journalism that will be dominated by women over the next couple of decades

And therein lies a clue to how the future will differ so radically from the past. In the 1960s, the era of lady reporter as adventurer and footloose traveler came to a well-deserved end. It had a long life: Nellie Bly, after all, set sail from New York for her breathless round-theworld trip more than 80 years ago. The *image* is not quite dead, however. Shirley MacLaine was quoted recently as wishing she had been a journalist because she likes "to keep moving"—a curious throwback reason for a woman whose book, at any rate, suggests an unaweable independence and intensity of concern for the events of our time that might be more useful qualifications. For too long the spiritual descendants of Nellie Bly have been obliged to make the news in order to write the news: look! a woman on the battlefield: look! a woman badgering the President at a press conference.

Nowadays the abundance of women writers and journalists in the ranks of the women's liberation struggle have made it very hard to distinguish—if one must, that is—where the movement ends and personal careers begin. That movement and its progenitor, the black liberation struggle, as well as the antiwar movement, the social crises in our cities, and the youth culture are not fast-breaking "events" in the traditional journalists' sense where the victory goes to the swiftest, the luckiest or the most audacious. The story itself is often hidden within the events. The fact that women are, by and large, still excluded from the "big" reporting assignments—e.g., the White House, with all its seductions of inside briefings from informed sources—may prove to be their best training for the real opportunities of the new journalism.

Women in this business have had to find the news even when they were being kept from it. Lorena Hickok, the first woman given a top straight political reporting job at AP, had won her first by-line years before by writing a bitter, witty story about not getting an interview with singer Geraldine Farrar. Midy Morgan was scornfully offered the job of livestock reporter when she asked The New York Times for a job almost a century ago. She took it. By ferocious devotion, such as sleeping in a barren room in a New Jersey railway station so that she could count cattle cars as they lay in the Hoboken rail yards, she became such an expert on cattle and horse flesh that General Ulysses S. Grant and



An associate editor of Fortune, Marion Buhagiar feels liberated in combining a challenging job with being a wife and mother

King Victor Emmanuel of Italy sought out her advice.

A hundred years after Midy, another New York Times woman, Charlotte Curtis, also made a virtue out of being in a department instead of in the city room. The grit of city life has often been better and earlier reflected on the "women's" page of the Times than in the Lindsay-oriented metropolitan news or the reproachful scoldings of the editorial page. One woman who recently left the department after more than a dozen years, just to have a change in beat, says nostalgically: "It's a great place to write. Where else can you get two columns to say what you want to say? You'd be lucky to get one paragraph—and that would be cut out of the second edition."

Taking an enriched prospective of what's important news, and applying again that indicator of recently launched successful journalistic ventures, you come up with a high probability that women certainly have the opportunity—and may seize it—of being the chief contributors to the new journalism of the coming years. New York magazine reached editorial and commercial success with astonishing speed by identifying a need for information—whether silly, fashionable, or serious—on

what it called "urban strategy." It started with and still has a high proportion of women on its staff and among its contributors. The Village Voice, which pioneered reporting on the "alternate culture," has also consistently used a number of women reporters. It also has as city editor Mary Perot Nichols, whose reporting on the city politic was long unmatched by the city's daily newspapers.

It would be an absurd factic for women to concentrate their efforts and talents and measure their success by breaching the citadels of journalistic distinction defined by their male bosses—the Washington bureau, say. A few women will get such assignments, certainly. But those few additions will not make any significant difference to the quality of that reporting, considering the bloat of talent already installed. What is already happening in business reporting is bound to happen in other reporting fields that require an expertise and perspective that goes beyond the day's events. And many of those areas will increasingly fall to highly qualified women where once they fell to men on the staff who were on their way up to somewhere else where the "real" reporting was, or to men who were marked never to make it there.

Think of all the wastelands of journalism—wastelands far more fertile and full of potential than Midy Morgan had any reason to expect from livestock reporting. Real estate is, by and large, handled as a series of transaction notices and new tracthousing announcements. But the whole issue of deteriorating centralcity housing, windfall profits on government subsidization programs, failure of innovations in construction techniques, and changing sources of financing go remarkably uncovered in any consistent and systematic way. (A reminder here, incidentally, that innovating journalists Jane Jacobs and Ada Louise Huxtable are women.) Education is reported as a series of crises-boycotts, budgets, strikes, etc. But how rare is the detailed, day-by-day reporting on the quality of the process. Transportation, so powerful and often so calamitous in its effects on the wellbeing of a city's people and its business, certainly deserves reporting that goes beyond an account of the day's worst traffic jams, the late trains, and the latest wage settlements. City and local financing is also treated as a series of headline stories around the annual budget or bond issue — together with that inevitable pie-chart on "where your

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Jim Catalano, Roy J. Battersby, Karen Berg, Mary L. T. Brown, Ted Burgert, Ben Schechter, Ivan Scott tax dollar went." But hardly any publisher or broadcaster spares the effort to thread through the intricacies of public accounting to assess what the *real* priorities of the administration are. Consumerism and the environment issue are the stuff of which great journalism can be made—but they were issues raised initially by insistent cranks who would not settle for an official statement as an answer.

Admittedly, this is a very optimistic projection of the future of women in journalism. It presupposes that a rational deal will be struck between the glaring needs of the profession and the availability of talent to do that work. But the presumption also is that publishers and broadcasters are businessmen—and that they understand that lost opportunity is a terrible business cost.

Education Can Help Media to Counter Threats

by William L. Rivers

If one thing is clear about these troubled times, it is that journalism education must be flexible enough to accommodate itself to changes. Consider the course Contemporary Issues in Journalism that Oregon's John Hulteng taught last year. It was made up of nine topics: Racism in Journalism, The "New Journalism," Decline of Credibility, Non-Coverage of News, Shrinking and/or Polluted Channels, and The Airwaves: Whose Platform? Half these issues have come up so recently that it was hopeless to search for a textbook, or even paperbacks, that would deal with all of them.

It may also be that such new communication-society courses will help to inform the first of the powerful forces that threaten journalism: a public that is growing increasingly fearful of the mass media. Wallace Allen, managing editor of The Minneapolis Tribune, has observed that "public criticism of the newspapers is the shrillest and most widespread I have seen in eighteen years. The public mood is uneasy, querulous, fearful." Reuven Frank, NBC News director, wrote that the intellectual and middle-brow critics who have long excoriated television were now being joined by "the basic American audience, the most middle-class majority in history." If one be-

lieves Abraham Lincoln's dictum that in democracies "public sentiment is everything," there is reason for media men to fear their audiences.

It may be foolish to imagine that college courses can inform a powerful public force. It is quite clear that the American people are afraid in part because they are becoming aware of a frightening fact: All of us live in a synthetic world. What we know about contemporary affairs largely depends on what the mass media tell us. Because so many have become aware of this in troubled times, it is not surprising that they lash out at the media. What courses can do is teach those who want to be journalists how heavy the responsibilities are, and teach those who will never set foot in a newsroom that their vivid imaginings and inventive conspiracy theories should be reassessed.

Perhaps most of those who enroll in courses that inform them about mass communication will become more critical of the media as a consequence. Certainly, many who teach communication-society courses take a critical stance. There is bolder criticism among journalism educators today. This includes the example set by Edward W. Barrett when he was dean of the Columbia School of Journalism in founding the Columbia Journalism Review, a valuable critical journal. If I am right in believing that it is not criticism the media should fear, but only ignorant criticism, journalism education can serve significantly by informing the American people about the warts and blemishes on the only business that is specifically protected by the Constitution.

Courses may have little influence on the second force that threatens to change the media, but the flexibility of journalism education allows the schools to take some account of it—and the most influential teachers to affect it. This force seeks to substitute advocacy for the foundation of journalism, verifiable facts presented in a reasonably detached and dispassionate report. Ray Mungo, one of the founders of the Liberation News Service, argues in his book "Famous Long Ago":

"Facts are less important than truth and the two are far from equivalent, you see; for cold facts are nearly always boring and may even distort the truth, but Truth is the highest achievement of human expression . . . Now let's pick up a 1967 copy of The Boston Avatar and under the headline "Report from Vietnam, by Alexander Sorenson" read a painfully graphic account of Sorenson's encounter with medieval torture in a Vietnam village. Later



Professor of Communications at Stanford, Rivers is a prolific writer on media; this is from the March-April 1971 issue of Change

because we know Brian Keating, who wrote the piece, we discover that Alexander Sorenson doesn't exist and that the incident described in Avatar, which moved thousands, never in fact happened. But because it has happened in man's history, and because we know we are responsible for its happening today, and because the story is unvarnished and plain and human, we know it is true, truer than any facts you may have picked up in the New Republic."

In a sense, this is quite old-fashioned. It smacks of the attitudes of the young men of half a century ago who used journalism as an avenue to fiction. Ironically, it is a new challenge because some novelists, Norman Mailer in the lead, seem to be deserting fiction in its conventional forms and writing their version of fact—although I hasten to add that Mailer's work does not follow Mungo's prescription. The young reporters who are impatient with the conventions of journalismnearly every newspaper and news broadcasting unit of size and pretentions to excellence has a few of them—are intrigued by the subjective involvement that informs Mailer's writing.

Although journalism educators cannot be said to have a "position" in this debate—teachers are as free to choose here as they are at the ballot box—no one seems to agree with Mungo. Some teachers are taken with Mailer's reporting, but it is difficult to find anyone who does more than assign students to read "Armies of the Night" and "Miami and the Siege of Chicago." As one teacher said, "I like Mailer, but that's a long way from saying his work is what journalism should be." Certainly, most teachers are distinct-

ly uneasy about any system that does not center the verifiable fact at the heart of journalism.

At the same time, journalism educators are far more concerned with promoting interpretive writing than are most of the older newspapermen and newscasters. With the University of Illinois' Prof. James Carey, they worry over the fact that "we still have failed to teach students how to dig into the underlife of the country, how to get at the subter-ranean and frequently glacial movements that provide the meaningful substructure which determines the eruption of events and the emergence of personalities that we now call news." If journalism educators have a decisive role in shaping practices, they are likely to neutralize advocacy journalism while promoting greater freedom for the reporter.

Flexibility of curriculum is also important in trying to comprehend the third force, which combines the time-shared computer and the "wired city" that seems destined to be created by cable television. Although little technology has ever been treated extensively in journalism classes, so many students and teachers are fascinated with the new media that class periods in many courses are

devoted to discussing their impact. There are predictions that the new home information centers to be created by the wedding of computers and CATV will sweep away all existing media. Because of the high cost of these centers, and for other reasons, it is more likely that the past is prologue and that, just as newspapers and magazines made room for radio, then all three moved over to make room for television, the major media will simply adjust to the newcomer - albeit with at least as much shifting and groaning as accompanied the arrival of TV.

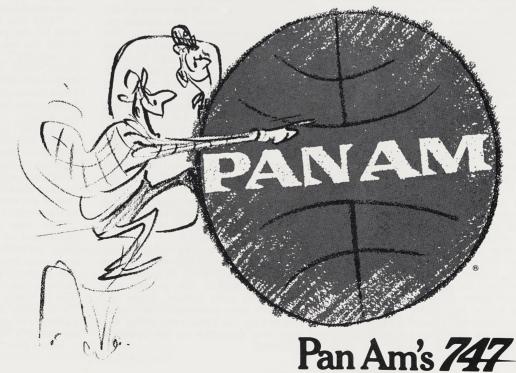
The central fact in all this is not whether one medium or several die. In the unlikely event that the home information center should replace all the other media, the demand for journalism will be at least as great as it is now. For the chief utility of the information center is that the home owner can order information—headlines, news stories, biographical pieces, supermarket listings, and ads, and a bewildering variety of other data—and someone must prepare it. The pivotal fact is that this system places the receiver of information in the commanding position. Instead of taking what the reporters and editors of newspapers,

magazines, radio, and television have packaged for him, the receiver orders what he wants.

What will the receiver—multiplied by millions—really want? If the cost of home information centers is eventually reduced to the point that the poor and disadvantaged can afford them, will their access to information be translated into power? Also, considering the studies that show that a child taught by computer is likely to be impatient with humans because they cannot answer questions as rapidly, what will be the effect on authority structure of a home information center that provides quicker and more accurate answers than the child's parents? These are questions that indicate how much the world of mass communication needs those who probe the effects of media.

These are also questions that suggest the importance of the kind of education that not only trains journalists and researchers but informs the pivotal dialogue about mass communication. For as Nicholas Johnson of the FCC has said about the spread of information in a free society: "If we are unwilling to discuss this issue fully today we may find ourselves discussing none that matters very much tomorrow."

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Young Reporters Look at the Press

Some Candid Comments by Six Who Served Apprenticeships with Newsweek



William Pollard Campus Correspondent Columbia Law School Ex-Trainee Chicago Bureau

One night recently I asked six or seven students at Columbia University to sit around and talk about the news media. It was both surprising and a shock when all commented that the greatest fault of the press was a lack of accuracy. They did not believe what was printed or televised.

These students were not the "crazies" or a fringe group, but the movers and shakers of tomorrow. And

they don't trust the press.

One student said that the press is controlled "by the powers that be. It is there to help keep the status quo stable." Another: "People write what they want to see. That might not be what happened." Still a third: "A lot of things get reported as fact that aren't, like government lying."

It is not enough for the press to respond: "Well, what we do report is as close to the truth as we can get. Those kids will just have to understand that." No, we of the press corps must face the perceived reality of youth. The news media must make positive steps to assure its audience they are getting 100 proof fact.

Let me digress a moment to use an example of how a sophisticated reader might think a news report was less than accurate. In February, Spiro Agnew attacked the Philadelphia Bar Association. Mr. Agnew said that the association had suggested that the passing grade for the bar exam be lowered for black people. The New York Times reported the Agnew attack.

What the writer did not include was what the Bar Association had really stated. After a six months detailed study, it had reported that the exam had to have some sort of bias in it because a grossly disproportionate number of blacks who took the exam failed. The Bar Association said the exam should be restructured to eliminate any and all bias.

Was the article accurate reporting? From the standpoint of what Mr. Agnew said, it probably was. But from the standpoint of telling the whole story, it was not. Some people might reasonably interpret that the Times was "pushing" the Agnew attack by omitting key material.

The press, of course, has done

admirable jobs in the past. One of the best examples was the reporting that came out of Kent, Ohio, immediately after the shooting in May 1970. Many students were asking themselves, "Is this the start of the revolution?" The press got that story out and fast. It at least quelled fears of a "fascist takeover" which were rife on campus.

Now we are facing a crisis of our credibility from youth. And a discredited press is no different from a controlled press. In the coming year's, the press must firmly establish its independence, its accuracy, its total presentation of the facts. And we must jealously guard each of them. If we won't or can't meet this challenge, then it will be time to fold up our pencils and go home.



Peter S. Greenberg Campus Correspondent Univ. of Wisconsin

The youth of today has grown up almost too fast, it seems, and many of us feel prisoners of a plastic society that has brought us our first televised war, and that has conditioned many of us to act out of want, not out of need.

As a result, while we mistrust the previous generation, to a certain extent we also mistrust ourselves. The question "Where do we go from here?" is sometimes moot because, more often than not, we find difficulty in analyzing our past-let alone our present and future.

The 1960s saw a break in the traditional quiet on America's campuses as politics replaced panties and the press began to report college "unrest."

Some students reacted negatively to the initial reporting efforts of the professional newsmen, with charges that the reporters were only event oriented, dealing with issues often as bizarre after-effects of the very events they provoked.

And the events were violent. From 1967 until the fatal bombing here at the University of Wisconsin in Madison last fall, this campus was one of the most violent. When the activities were nonviolent, they were ignored by the press until either the issue was forgotten or the situation

I remember one particular demonstration here last year. An entire "Wide World of Sports" film crew, complete in their blue nylon wind-breakers, was sent up by ABC-TV to catch the action. Maybe they were trying to tell us something.

Was it just a game? To a degree, was it just a game? To a degree, anything is—although history may well prove that ABC was right. Presently, we are part of the "Cooling of America." Last year, we were part of the "Ferment on Campus." Next year we will again be attached to a label or two, as the press tries to analyze an unpredictable generation. To many, we have jumped erratically from ecology to Vietnam and then to the record stores to purchase the latest expensive piece of plastic.

The failure of the press to

adequately analyze the issues and the events on campus is also the students' failure. We seem to act or react as crisis-oriented faddists, and the press blindly follows us from one apocalyptic adventure to another.

The college press is also somewhat guilty of this: On a day-to-day basis, it tends to reflect the immediate emotions and actions of a campus rather than to present any sober long-range thinking on an issue or event.

This is changing, however. While a majority of America's campuses may be indeed quiet, they are certainly not inactive. And the college press is undergoing a great deal of soul-searching during the recess.

While this speech continues, is it wise for the professional press to describe the silence in absolute terms of "cooling"? This campus could explode again tomorrow. Turbulence may have temporarily left, but the basic issues are still with us and vio-lence waits anxiously for its cue in the wings.

Recently, Sen. George McGovern visited Wisconsin, and spoke to an overflow crowd of 3,500 students. The next evening, one network news "commentator" analyzed the color footage showing students clapping at one of the senator's remarks as "once again working within the system."

This type of reporting is easily questioned by students. "Most of us can't look that far ahead because we're too busy looking around us,' one student joked. And yet, some students can see far enough into the '70s to worry about the summer of 1972, when both national political parties will once again put a strain on people's faith in the "system." When the "system" itself includes

the press, then the press must expect criticism—and rather than hide behind myths of objectivity, must admit its inherent subjectivity and strive to be fair and complete.

There are, of course, no easy an-

We are confused about the present and we fear the future. We see Vietnam as a symptom of a much greater and perhaps terminal disease in the U.S., and some of us equate our Indochina involvement with the tense conditions in other areas like Harlem, Berkeley, and Madison.

Nevertheless, there is some bright light at the end of our tunnel. The only problem is that we don't know if it is divine or flashing red.



Joan Oleck Campus Correspondent Univ. of Michigan

Youth and the media these days are playing a game of round robin. It goes something like this: youth tunes out media, media tunes in youth; youth turns on media, media turns off youth.

Sound abstruse? Perhaps so, but even more mysterious is this word "youth" the media throw around. Surely "youth" encompasses the whole of "adult" experience, culturally and politically, from George Wallace Jr. to Abbie Hoffman.

Not so to the media. They've become so painfully entwined in the Madison Avenue maze they'll never find a way out. "Youth" has been narrowed to a bell bottomed, beaded, hairy GNP, to be packaged in cello-phane and marketed for what it's worth. Which is a lot.

Woodstock? It happened and was duly exploited. More specifically, "love" became a sales item. And the media rushed in Ali MacGraw posthaste to promote Love's Soft Eyes (cosmetics yet) on coffee tables

across America.

What's next? Youth has no crystal ball, either, but if it did, the conservatives among us would still see nothing as usual and the revolutionaries would see only vacuous phrases echoing "after the revolution.

Less radical youth, despairing of the revolution, might solve the coming decade's media problems with a choice from two alternatives, both in and out of the Establishment.

First, inside the media the people at the nitty-gritty level-writers, re-

searchers—are finding they can topple their private empires pretty much at will. Women at Newsweek, for example, presented their male editors with an ultimatum last spring concerning sex discrimination. To no one's surprise, the demands were accepted. There is no reason why such action cannot overlap into the area of editorial decision.

Second, perhaps more important, demands outside the established media are being satisfied by youth's very own alternative. They are hardly history's first rebels but they are the first with the technological ability to fight back. Today, everyone can create his own media.

Xeroxing 10,000 handouts at eleven A.M. for the noon demonstration is commonplace. And the under-ground press is emerging into daylight with skill and influence.

Even if youth were to take an active interest in media of this next decade, what rewards could they reap? Nasty epithets perhaps from veeps. Certainly, official rulings from the FCC as irrelevant as the latest banning drug references in rock music. This would be followed by the law responding sincerely by rounding up the local DJ for playing, say, "Along Comes Mary," an outdated rock hit with questionable references

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to MARY-juana.

And in the background, the trusting citizen would be ever clacking away at his typewriter a letter-tothe-editor demanding a who-what-where-when-how exposé on this Mary, whoever she might be.



Aric Press Campus Correspondent Cornell Univ. Ex-Trainee Washington Bureau

Like all the other lost generations we've heralded, today's tie-dyed youth is far from being a monolith. Instead, it is slowly maturing into three groups which will confront us in the '70s: the counterculture people, the political reformers, and the vast majority. If we're all still in the business of transcribing signals into comprehensible messages explaining our society, then these are the three groups we'll be delineating, each overlapping, but each requiring different treatment.

First, let's call a halt to all the cute stories chocked full of tinny verbs that have passed for chronicling the counterculture. If we're to understand what these people are doing, we can't do it through a veil of

facetiousness.

For answers it means asking hard questions-even if they're directed at the most praised generation ever —while trying to shy away from labeling, which is only a cheap elixir for complexity. This is especially true when dealing with the radical kids who don't trust you, don't like you, and don't need you.

We are tending to ignore the kids not at the elite schools, not destined for prestigious jobs, the kids who will provide the inertia which is one of the country's prime assets for the future. Every so often polls suddenly appear in a number of magazines telling America that everything is O.K., that their kids are not any different than they were.

Perhaps that is true, but we don't spend sufficient space trying to find out why this is and how long the center will hold. We need to look at these people not from the vantage point of Harvard Square but from the playing fields of Lafayette, Ind.

But the story here, running through all three groups, from Scarsdale to South Bend, is: Life? We're headed for the four-day work week and a leisure-time glut—to be dispelled how? The lawn can be mowed, shopping malls patrolled, bitterness transferred into football games, all only a finite number of times. Then where are we?

In the '70s we also have to start

covering the black community-and on its terms. We've virtually always handled the black community from a white perspective, paying little heed to the daily patterns, institutions, and crises applicable only to the black minority. This attitude is compounded now by the growing militant separatism that is setting up the same barriers segregation once erected for white journalists.

As for foreign correspondence, most Americans will maintain their lack of interest. The MOBE teach-in veterans and the government majors are not the vast majority. And there is hardly any way that New Delhi can be as intimate as Shea Stadium. Which doesn't mean we give up, only be aware we are playing to an Aris-

totelian few.

We face an internal risk also, stemming from the recent healthy turn to some personal journalism. The danger is in abandoning fairness and replacing it with polemicism and outrage. I don't want to defend wishy-washiness in this decade of hard and fast dichotomies, but working toward fairness is a standard we can ill afford to abandon, no matter what the fad dictates.



Seth Goldschlager Campus Correspondent Yale Law School Formerly Cornell Univ. Ex-Trainee

Paris, Washington, London Bureaus

Audience confidence. That, in two words, may describe the most challenging and elusive goal of the media in the '70s. And if audiences are demanding, as I think they are beginning to be, the attainment of that goal may ensure the kind of responsible, fiercely free press that has always been the ideal in this country.

The news media, it now appears, may become the next target of scorching public scrutiny. There is evidence that this is beginning to happen, with distrust emanating from wide spectrum of opinion.

One sign from the left or, more accurately, from youth culture, is the proliferation of underground newspapers and the increasingly prevalent distrust among youth for the "estab-lishment press." On the other side (unless I am far off base in interpreting the instantaneous and highly voluble support which the Vice President drew when he attacked the press) a much greater percentage of the population silently distrusted the media than had been thought.

I think there are some positive steps that the press must take if it is

to regain trust:

(1) In all media, stereotypes must go, now and forever. They are fading but, particularly in foreign news, they crop up where they can rescue a writer who loses the mot juste.

(2) Local newspapers should stop resting on their monopolies and provide something more than movie times and weddings as their contribution to enterprising reporting.

(3) National publications should abandon total reliance on "formula" writing. Educated readers won't believe a magazine that treats a moonshot, a business boom, a cyclone, and a divorce with the same space and the same style. People know the world just doesn't work that neatly.

(4) TV's current network news shows will continue to be self-defeating if they lull the network into thinking documentaries are no longer needed during prime time. A peek at the old CBS Edward R. Murrow shows will make even youth yearn for the good old days of TV news.

(5) All-news radio has the golden opportunity and hasn't exploited it. Continuity is lacking: the listener hears little packets of repetitious, dis-

connected information.

My shopping list is wide-ranging but only a start. Those steps should be among the first taken if the media are to regain respect. Otherwise, they may find nobody listening, as technology provides audiences with other means of keeping informed.



Larry Leamer Author of "The Paper Revolutionaries," an upcoming study of the underground press (Simon & Schuster) Ex-Associate Editor

"The underground press in our country . . . is essentially a fraud, from the name up . . . This press is fake-tough, sterile and devoid of talent, a dunghill on which no flowers grow."

-Eugene Lyons of Reader's Digest in Dateline '69.

This "dunghill" is the most important innovation in print journalism since the birth of Time magazine more than 40 years ago. In less than a decade—without capital, professionally trained staffs, or conventional publicity—the underground press has grown into a formidable counter institution.

This radical press includes the largest paid weekly in Georgia, several of the largest weeklies in California, and important papers in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, and in towns and cities across America. In all, about 200 papers are part of the loose confederation known as the Underground Press Syndicate.

Membership in UPS would be the narrowest possible definition of an underground paper, and that alone adds up to a circulation of more than 1,500,000. Employing the formula used by mass magazines (six readers to one magazine), this would represent a readership of more than 9,000,000. By including high-school undergrounds, reupholstered Old Left papers, rock-culture papers, and other publications that identify with youth culture, we come up with a circulation figure of at least 3 million, or 18 million readers, an even better indication of the enormous audience for a medium that is blatantly anti-Establishment

tantly anti-Establishment.

If I were publisher of a mass magazine or newspaper, I would look at these figures and be scared, damn scared. I would realize that the underground press was born and burgeoned during the 1960s, a decade when the proportion of the public considering newspapers the most believable mass medium dropped from 32 to 21 per cent. I would look at above-ground newspapers and magazines, too, and realize that no element of our popular culture is so old-fashioned, so wedded to old forms, values, and ideas. I might even be scared enough to evaluate the contemporary press in a serious and critical manner.

Just how self-congratulatory can establishment journalists be when to-

day's most significant investigative reporting is being done not by professional journalists at all but by rank amateurs—by law, college, even high-school students who are Nader's raiders?

In our era aboveground journalists have often become mere scribes. They copy verbatim the government's most dubious proclamations. They trim them down into neat, palatable news stories or one-minute TV spots. And they peddle this to the American public as "objective" journalism. They are willing dupes, too, for the forms of conventional journalism cannot begin to capture the "objective" realities of modern life.

After all, for the most part aboveground journalism is the craft of accurately transmitting what is only half understood. There is no room for diligent and tough muckraking, for irony, safire, or sheer disheliof

for irony, satire, or sheer disbelief.

The underground press does not hide its opinions behind that shallow veneer of "objective" journalism. The reader knows the articles are written by human beings full of the most extraordinary biases. It is true, though, that ideology can shackle the mind of a writer as well, and in recent months political articles in many underground papers have

sounded the same, tedious notes. Still, the underground press's notable achievement remains: to have created a medium where dissident viewpoints are heard in full, and not with the cursory and patronizing attention they receive elsewhere. This is no small accomplishment, for the truth is wearing strange livery these days. Indeed, many Americans are coming to realize that it was the underground press and not the establishment media that came closest to writing the truth about our involvement in Vietnam. (Even President Nixon is no stranger to New Left analysis; part of his 1971 State of the Union address could have been lifted almost directly from the 1962 SDS Port Huron statement.)

Of course, it takes no great research to find instances where the underground press has been horrendously misinformed. But that is hardly the point. The underground press was not created to challenge The New York Times but to serve a dissident minority. These scattered rebels have now grown into a mass radical youth movement, and in the 1970s the underground press will have to evolve. To continue to serve its audience, the underground press will have to become an alternative medium in fact as well as metaphor.

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